CHRISTINE CHAILLOT

The Coptic Orthodox Church

A BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO ITS LIFE AND SPIRITUALITY

INTER-ORTHODOX DIALOGUE

PARIS 2005

The Coptic Orthodox Church

This book is an introduction to the life and spirituality of the Coptic Orthodox Church of Egypt, including its liturgical and monastic traditions. A summary is given of its history, Church organization, missionary activity and diaspora, with a history of the Sunday schools and Youth movement. The reader will also find here a short presentation of Coptic language, literature and studies, including the literature of the Copts written in Arabic.

The Oriental Orthodox Churches include the Copts, the Armenians, the Syrian Orthodox of Antioch, the Malankara Orthodox in India and the Christians of the Ethiopian tradition, present also in Eritrea.

Christine Chaillot is a Swiss laywoman of the Eastern Orthodox Church (Patriarchate of Constantinople). For years she has travelled and met Oriental Orthodox communities and prelates in the Middle East and elsewhere. Through her writings and photographs, she aims to present the life and spirituality of the Oriental Orthodox Churches not only to the ecumenists and theologians, but also to general readers, students, travellers and pilgrims.

ISBN 83-89396-15-7

CHRISTINE CHAILLOT

The Coptic Orthodox Church

A BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO ITS LIFE AND SPIRITUALITY

INTER-ORTHODOX DIALOGUE

PARIS 2005

Front cover: *Monks in Abu Fanah's Monastery near Mallawi*
Front inside cover: *Copts in a village near Mallawi; Coptic community in Geneva*
Back inside cover: *Monastery of Saint Bishoi: in 2004 and about 1800 (from 'Description of Egypt')*
Back cover: *Monastery of Saint Antony*

Previous books:

- *Rôle des Images et Vénération des Icônes dans les Églises Orthodoxes Orientales, Geneva, (1993)*
- *The Malankara Orthodox Church, Geneva, (1996)*
- *The Syrian Orthodox Church of Antioch, Geneva, (1998)*
- *Towards Unity: The Theological Dialogue Between the Orthodox Church and the Oriental Orthodox Churches (a compilation of the texts of the Theological Dialogue since 1964, with accompanying articles), Geneva, (1998)*
- *"Fidélité et Vulnérabilité des plus anciennes Eglises d'Orient" in Les Richesses de l'Orient Chrétien, Paris, (2000)*
- *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church Tradition, Paris (2002)*

Inter-Orthodox Dialogue, Orthdruk 2005
ISBN 83-89396-15-7
© Copyright 2005 Inter-Orthodox Dialogue
Email: acchaillot@hotmail.com
This book was printed by Orthdruk, Bialystok, Poland, 2005

«… There will be an altar to the Lord in the centre of the land of Egypt… It will be a sign and a witness to the Lord of hosts in the land of Egypt… The Lord will make himself known to the Egyptians… Blessed be Egypt my people… »

Isaiah 19:19, 20, 21, 25

« Amen, amen, amen. I believe, I believe, I believe and confess to the last breath that this is the Life-giving Flesh, that of the Only-begotten Son, our Lord and our God, our Saviour Jesus Christ. He took it from our Lady and Queen, the Mother of God, the pure and holy Saint Mary, and made it one with His Divinity without mingling and without confusion and without alteration. He confessed the good confession before Pontius Pilate, and by his own will He gave Himself up on the Cross to redeem us. In truth, I believe that His Divinity was never separated from His Humanity for one moment nor for a wink of the eye. This is given for our redemption, forgiveness and eternal life for those who partake from it. I believe, I believe, I believe that this is the truth. Amen. »

Saint Basil's Anaphora of the Coptic Orthodox Church

« The man who hears the Word of God often, opens his heart to the fear of God.»

Apophthegma, by Abba Poemen

« Always have the fear of God before your eyes. Remember Him who gives death and life… I no longer fear God, but I love Him. For love casts out fear. » (John 4:18)

Apophthegma, by Saint Antony

« In the beginning there are a great many battles and a good deal of suffering for those who are advancing towards God and afterwards, ineffable joy. It is like those who wish to light a fire; at first they are choked by the smoke and cry, and by this means obtain what they seek: so we also must kindle the divine fire in ourselves through tears and hard work. »

Apophthegma, by Amma Syncletica

« If he [Patriarch Theophilus] is not edified by my silence, he will not be edified by my speech. »

Apophthegma, by Abba Pambo

Table of contents

- Letter of Blessing from H.H. Patriarch Theodoros II of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria 6
- Letter of Blessing from H.H. Patriarch Shenouda III of the Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria 7
- Letter of Blessing from H.H. Patriarch Bartholomew of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Constantinople 8

Introduction 9

Part I

Chap. 1 - **History** 17
Chap. 2 - **Organization of the Church** 22
Chap. 3 - **Mission and Diaspora** 43
Chap. 4 - **Sunday Schools and Youth Movement** 62

Part II

Chap. 5 - **Languages, Literature and Studies** 75
Chap. 6 - **Liturgical Life** 94
Chap. 7 - **Spirituality** 116
Chap. 8 - **Monastic Life** 136

Conclusion 170

- Coptic Alphabet 172
- 'Our Father' in Coptic, in phonetics 173
- Map of Cairo districts 174
- General Map of Egypt 175
- Map of the Delta 176
- Map of Cairo and Lower Egypt 177
- Map of Middle Egypt 178
- Map of Upper Egypt 179
- Map of the Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Cairo 180
- Chart of the Bishopric of Public, Ecumenical and Social Services (BLESS) 181
- Bibliography 182
- List of Illustrations 217
- Some Addresses, Emails and Websites 223

Scanned by Gabriel Rabo, 22.8.2022

بطريركية الروم الأرثوذكس بالاسكندرية وسائر أفريقيا

ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΕΙΟΝ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΣΗΣ ΑΦΡΙΚΗΣ

GREEK ORTHODOX PATRIARCHATE OF ALEXANDRIA AND ALL AFRICA

http://www.greekorthodox-alexandria.org

E-mail: patriarchate@greekorthodox-alexandria.org

Mailing Address : P.O.Box 2006 Alexandria - Egypt

Tel.: 00203-4868595, 00203-4844876, Fax : 00203-4875684

To Mrs Christine Chaillot

Dear Mrs Chaillot,

As the Head of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria and all Africa, We would like to inform you that the Theological Dialogue with the Oriental Orthodox Churches is fruitful. The Theological Dialogue between the two families of Churches called the Eastern Orthodox (Greek, Russian, Romanian, Serb, etc.) and the Oriental Orthodox (Coptic, Ethiopian, Eritrean, Armenian, Syrian Orthodox and Indian Malankara) has taken a new turn since 1964 when an Unofficial Dialogue was initiated. The Official Dialogue began since 1985. During these meetings, the best theologians of the two families discussed and agreed in several statements aiming at saying that there was a misunderstanding on the Greek word 'physis' which could be understood as 'nature' or 'person' and that our Oriental Orthodox sister Churches are not monophysites. The formula by Saint Cyril of Alexandria, our common father, "One 'physis' of God the Word Incarnate" does speak of Our Lord Jesus Christ being God ('God the Word') and Man (Incarnate).
Our cooperation with the Coptic Orthodox Church is continuous. Pastoral agreements have been signed on the recognition of mutual baptism and on mixed marriages.

In 2000, you founded in Paris the Inter-Orthodox Dialogue Association, to promote practical dialogue between the Eastern Orthodox and the Oriental Orthodox Churches. Such initiatives are important and necessary to grow for the benefit of Our Dialogue with the Oriental Orthodox Churches and of the whole Christian world.

We think that your books are helping the readers to know more about the life and the spirituality of the Oriental Orthodox Churches.

For your new book on the Coptic Orthodox Church as well as for all your activities, We congratulate you and We give you Our Patriarchal Blessing.

May the grace and abundant mercy of Our Lord Jesus Christ be with you

With Patriarchal blessing

Θεόδωρος

THEODOROS II
Pope of Patriarch of Alexandria and all Africa

In the Great City of Alexandria
January 4th 2005

Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate

FROM H.H. POPE SHENOUDA III

Deir Anba Rueiss, Ramses Avenue, ABBASSIYA,

CAIRO 11381, EGYPT

CABLE : EL ANBA RUEISS, CAIRO.

ΠΑΠΑ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑΣ
ΠΟΡΦΟΛΟΓΟΣ
بطريركية الأقباط الأرثوذكس

Date / / 20
/ / 17

Cairo, 13 December 2000

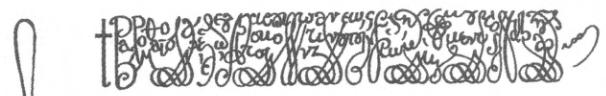
To the Association
DIALOGUE ENTRE ORTHODOXES in Paris

The Coptic Orthodox Church has been very active in promoting the Dialogue between the Eastern and Oriental Orthodox Churches and in informing the faithful.

Any activity for this Dialogue is positive and this is why We give Our Patriarchal blessing for the Association DIALOGUE ENTRE ORTHODOXES and We pray for the spiritual benefits of its works.

Shenouda III

Pope Shenouda III
Pope of Alexandria, and
Patriarch of the See of St. Mark.



The Gracious Mrs. Christine Chaillot, our Modesty's beloved daughter in the Lord: Grace and peace from God.

It was with much joy that we received your book on the Church Tewahedo of Ethiopia.

The Theological Dialogue between the two Families of Churches called the Eastern Orthodox (Greek, Russian, Romanian, Serb, etc.) and the Oriental Orthodox (Coptic, Ethiopian, Armenian, Syrian Orthodox, and Indian Malankara) has taken a new turn since 1964 when an Unofficial Dialogue was initiated. The Official Dialogue began since 1985. During these meetings, the best theologians of the two Families of Churches discussed and agreed on several statements that there was a misunderstanding on the Greek word '*physis*' that could be understood as '*nature*' or '*person*'. The formula by Saint Cyril, our common Father, «One '*physis*' of God the Word Incarnate» does speak of Our Lord Jesus Christ being God ('God the Word') and Man ('incarnate').

Among the texts of the Theological Dialogue, some refer to the pastoral issues. In order for the two Families of Churches to know each other better, they put emphasis on the necessity of making available publications, as well as organizing meetings of their clergy and faithful.

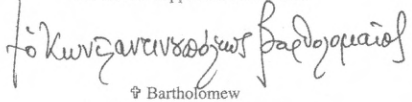
On the path of the Dialogue with the Eastern Orthodox Churches, Christine Chaillot has actively worked to produce different materials, in particular by writing several books and articles on the life and spirituality of the Oriental Orthodox Churches.

It is on this occasion that we would like to congratulate her for her new book on the Coptic Orthodox Church, and to bestow upon her our wholehearted paternal prayers and patriarchal blessings, wishing that this new book will also contribute to the much desired rapprochement of the Christians, which is God's will.

May His grace and endless mercy be with you, and also with the readers of your newly published book.

At the Patriarchate, 19 January 2005

Your fervent supplicant before God



✞ Bartholomew
Archbishop of Constantinople
New Rome and Ecumenical Patriarch

Introduction

The Copts are the ancient local Christians of Egypt. The word 'Copt' means in fact 'Egyptian', from the Greek abbreviation *Aiguptios* and from Arabic *Qibt*. By extension, it was used to name what relates to them: religion, ethnics, linguistics.

The Copts are descended from the Egyptians of the Pharaonic period and culture. Some feel that, because of some pharaonic beliefs, the Egyptians were prepared to welcome the Christian faith: the virgin goddess mother Isis giving birth to a son, Osiris; Osiris, the god killed and resurrected; a belief in life after death and a judgement of the dead. The cross shape is reminiscent of the *ankh*, the Pharaonic symbol of life.

In the Old Testament, there are many stories and names related to Egypt, such as the Exodus, Joseph, Moses and Abraham. The presence of Jews is known in Egypt (Elephantine) since the 6th century B.C. and later; there was a large community in Alexandria.

The coming of the Holy Family to Egypt (Matt. 2:13-15) is seen as a special blessing by the Copts. It had some biblical predictions: 'Out of Egypt I have called my son' (Hosea 11:1; Matt. 2:15) and 'Blessed be Egypt my people' (Isa. 19:25).

Some Egyptians are present in Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost (Acts 2:10). According to tradition, the Church of Alexandria was founded by the Evangelist Saint Mark in the middle of the first century. In Alexandria, Christianity developed in a cosmopolitan environment, including many Greeks and Jews. Christianity then spread in Egypt, in Fayyum and in the Nile Valley.

Alexandria was then an important commercial and intellectual centre. A great Christian theological school was organized there. Some of the most famous Alexandrian Church Fathers, who championed the Orthodox faith, were Saint Athanasius of Alexandria (328-373), the great opponent of Arianism, and Saint Cyril (412-44) the key figure who opposed Nestorius at the Council of Ephesus in 431.

Until the misunderstanding and separation which followed the Council of Chalcedon in 451, there was only one Church in Egypt, with its head in Alexandria. Following the schism of 451, two

Churches were organized in Egypt. The largest part of Egyptian Christianity was made into a more national Church around the Coptic Patriarch. The Coptic Church, whose ecclesiastical leaders had not accepted the Council of Chalcedon, kept the formula of Saint Cyril, speaking of 'one Incarnate *physis* of God the Word', referring to the Humanity and Divinity of Christ being united. The other was that of the Greek Byzantines, or 'Melchites' (that is followers of the Emperor of Byzantium) who did accept the Council of Chalcedon, speaking of 'two *physeis*', that is of the divine and human 'natures' of Christ, in one Person. The two Patriarchates are still present today in Egypt. The Coptic Orthodox Patriarch is, since 1971, Pope Shenouda III who resides in Cairo; the Greek Orthodox Patriarch, Theodoros II, since 2004, still resides in Alexandria.

Other Churches did not accept the Council of Chalcedon, namely, the Syrian Orthodox of Antioch (with a branch in India), the Armenians, and the Ethiopians who were under the Coptic Patriarchate until 1959. This group of Churches was formerly known as 'monophysite', a name which they refuse today. Their official name, accepted by theologians of different Churches during their recent theological dialogues, is 'Oriental Orthodox'. Nowadays, many Christian theologians have understood and accepted that the Oriental Orthodox have an Orthodox christology, or faith in Christ, as they do believe that Christ is fully God and fully Man, without separation or confusion. The Greek word *physis* should be understood as 'nature' or as 'person', according to the context.

Among the Oriental Orthodox Churches, the Coptic Church is the most numerous in the Middle East. According to the various sources, estimations of the Copts in Egypt vary a lot. A middle estimation would be of about 10 % of the population of Egypt (around 72 million), that may be around 7 million.

Because of this number, the Copts have to be considered as more than a simple Christian 'minority' in Egypt where the great majority is Muslim.

The Coptic Orthodox Church can be considered the 'national' Church because of its ancient roots in Egypt. It is also the largest Church in Egypt.

The other Christians are far fewer: there are about 150,000 Catholics of Latin, of Coptic or of other rites, and less Protestants.

Until the coming into power of Nasser in 1952, there was a large community of foreigners living in Egypt. The Greek Orthodox community in Egypt was quite important. Today some 17,000 Orthodox faithful living in Egypt are under the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria, but the greater number of people related to that Patriarchate are living and working in other African countries. The Russian Orthodox community is also present in Egypt.

In 2004, the Apostolic Armenians were 13,000. At the same time, the Syrian Orthodox Church had a small community (20 families) and a church, dedicated to the Virgin, in Cairo, near the Armenian cathedral on Ramses Street. The Ethiopian community has grown over the last decades, with the coming of emigrants, specially many young people.

At the beginning, Christianity expanded also to the west of Egypt, into what is now Libya. To the south of Egypt, under the missionary activities of the Byzantines and of the Copts, Nubia (present northern Sudan) began to be Christianized in the 6th century and remained with a Christian majority until the 15th century.

After the consecration of Frumentius in Alexandria in the 4th century, Coptic bishops were sent as Metropolitans of the Church of Ethiopia, until its autocephaly in 1959.

Since 1998, the new Patriarchate of Eritrea is in contact with the Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate. In March 2004, Pope Shenouda III presided over the consecration of the present Eritrean Patriarch, *Abuna* Antonius I.

Since the 1950s, the Coptic Church began missionary activity in Africa. Some Coptic priests are sent to serve these new communities as well as those organized for the numerous Copts now living abroad in the diaspora.

Geographically speaking, Egypt is situated in Africa; but many of her contacts are with the Mediterranean Sea and the Middle East. Most of the population in Egypt is concentrated in the Delta area and along the Nile River, the rest of the country being mainly desert with some oases. The farmers live on agriculture, cereals, sugar cane and cotton.

From ancient times foreigners have dominated Egypt. The history of the Copts in Egypt was rarely peaceful. Since the arrival of Arabs in Egypt in the 7th century, Islam was introduced in Egypt

and it then became the dominant religion. Since that time, and until the 19th century (1855), the Copts had a status of *dhimmis* or 'protected', given to non Muslim minorities such as Christians and Jews, with rights of ritual religion and personal legal status, under political submission, in 'the community (*millet*) system'. Their duties to the state included taxes (*jizyah*). At repeated times, discriminatory practices were used against Copts, such as the imposition of distinctive dress, and some persecutions took place, for example under the last ruler of the Fatimid, al-Hakim (996-1021), or under the Mamluks (1300-20 and 1419). Different kinds of pressures explain the significant number of conversions to Islam, along the centuries and until now.

Since the 1970s, some Islamic movements are growing and Copts have had to face problems. Some violence occurred such as setting fire to Coptic churches, shops and buildings; some Copts were kidnapped and even killed. They may also experience vexations in daily life.

About the life and spirituality of the Coptic Orthodox Church, one can acknowledge the revival of the Coptic Church since the end of the 1940s, with a renewal at all levels: of Sunday schools, priesthood and monastic life and also of youth movements and social work; in Egypt and in the communities of the Copts dispersed abroad.

This book is only a brief introduction to the life and spirituality of the Coptic Orthodox Church, including its liturgical and monastic traditions.

The reader will also find here a short introduction to Coptic language, studies and literature, including that written in Arabic with, in an appendix, the Coptic alphabet, and the 'Our Father' in Coptic and in phonetics.

Several maps show the places mentioned in the book.

Almost all the illustrations are my own photographs except for some pictures of the Coptic Church in America, Africa and Australia and those of the contemporary saints, and a few others taken from Coptic booklets or from some people.

In order to be able to contact the Coptic Patriarchate and some related bishoprics and institutions, as well as some cultural centres and associations, and in order to visit their web sites, I have put some of their main addresses at the end of the book.

Copts are found all around Egypt: in Alexandria and Cairo, in towns and villages, in the Delta as well as in Upper and Middle Egypt, specially in the governorates of Asyut, Minya and Suhag. There are now a few churches in the Sinai peninsula, in Al-Arish and Sharm al-Sheikh. In the very south, in Abu Simbel, there are some thirty Copts, and no church, but the Liturgy is sometimes celebrated.

Copts come from and belong to all social classes: from farmers to accountants, engineers, architects, pharmacists, medical doctors, business men, lawyers and politicians.

Many Egyptians, including Copts, migrate from the countryside to Cairo and its suburbs such as Matariya, Shubra al-Kheima, Ain Shams, Azbet al-Nakhl, Azbet al-Hagena, al-Herafeyin, Madinat Salam and Imbaba. They also live in new quarters such as Sheraton (Heliopolis), al-Nozha al-Gedida (New Heliopolis) and al-A'obour.

As many churches bear the same name of the main saints, in order to find a church in large cities like Cairo and Alexandria, it is necessary to add to it the name of its quarter or street, for example: Saint George in Heliopolis; the Virgin or al-Adhra in Zaytun, in Cairo; Saint George in Sporting, in Alexandria. In Shubra, a quarter in Cairo, behind Ramses Railway Station, very highly populated with Copts, churches bearing the same name are identified by the name of their street, for example Saint George in Geziret Badran.

For more detailed information on Coptic life and spirituality, please refer to: the *Coptic Encyclopedia* (1991) whose numerous articles with bibliographies cannot all be quoted here; the reports and bibliographies of the past and future Coptic Conferences; and to my bibliography.

The best detailed information accessible for a large public to discover and visit the Coptic monasteries and churches is found in the books and articles by Otto Meinardus who has written extensively on Coptic life and spirituality for the last decades.

My present book only tries to be a continuation of my previous books which were all a short presentation of the life and spirituality of the Oriental Orthodox Churches, for everyone who has an interest in them including students, pilgrims and travellers, ecumenists and theologians. My work hopes to be of help for the specific dialogue between the Eastern Orthodox (Greeks, Russians,

Rumanians, Serbs, Bulgarians, etc.) and the Oriental Orthodox Churches and faithful.

The Coptic Patriarch has the title of Pope and is named by Copts as 'Baba' ('Father' in Arabic).

'Anba' is the name given to a bishop, 'Abuna' to a priest (or a bishop or the Patriarch in Ethiopia and Eritrea), 'abba' to a 'desert father', and 'amma' to a 'desert mother'. The hegumen or abbot is the head of a monastery and the hegumenissa or abbess is the head of a convent.

'Adhra' means 'Virgin', 'Malak' means 'Angel', 'Mar' or 'Mari' and also 'Anba' mean 'Saint', 'Dair' means 'Monastery', and 'Sharia' means 'Street'. 'Khedive' and 'Pasha' are titles.

The transliteration of Coptic and specially of Arabic names of people, places and words is always a very difficult task, specially when one writes mainly for a large public. Unfortunately there is not yet a simple 'use' decided by scholars about these transliterations from Arabic and also from Coptic and Greek. Here I have generally followed the spelling given in Otto Meinardus' book *Two Thousand Years of Coptic Christianity*. Transliteration of words and names which are not found in that book have been adapted with the help of Dr Yuhanna Nessim, whom I thank.

In the text, names can be found both in English or Arabic transliteration, and sometimes in Coptic transliteration (ends in 'os', i.e. Marcos) as follows: Andrew/Andarawus, Antony/Antunius/Antonios, Arsenius/Arsaniyus, Basil/Basilius, Benjamin/Banyamin, Besa/Wisa, Claudius/Iqladius,Cyril/Kyrillus/Kyrillos,Cyrus/Qir, David/Dawud/Dawoud, Demetrius/Dimitrius, Dioscorus/Diyusqurus, Elijah/Ilya, Gabriel/Ghubriyal, George/Girgis, Gregory/Gregorius, Isaiah/Isha'iya, Isidore/Isidorus, James or Jacob/Yaqub, Jeremiah/Ermia, John/Yuhanna, Joseph/Yusuf, Josep/Yusab, Luke/Luqa, Mark/Murqus/Marcos, Matthew/Matta/Matteos, Menas/Mina,Michael/Mikha'il,Moses/Musa/Moussa, Pachomius/Bakhum, Palladius/Baladius, Palamon/Balamun, Paul/Bulus or Bula/Boulos, Peter/Butrus/Boutros/Petros, Poemen/Bimen, Ramses/Ramsis, Raphael/Rufa'il, Samuel/ Samu'il, Severus/Sawirus, Shenute/Shenouda, Simon//Sama'an, Suriel/Suryal, Theodore/Tadrus/ Tawadros or Tadros, Thomas/Tuma, Victor/Buqtur.

So, for example, Pope Cyril VI is also found as Pope Kyrillos as

that is what Copts call him. In the text, a few names are also kept the way certain Copts write them.

Many monks and nuns bear the same name, usually of a saint, to which is added the name of their monastery or convent, in order to distinguish them; for example: Father X al-Anba Bishoi means Father X from the Monastery of Saint Bishoi; or it might be al-Antuni, from the Monastery of Saint Antony; al-Suriani, from the Monastery of the Syrians, al-Samueli, from the Monastery of Saint Samuel; al-Baramusi, from the Monastery of Baramus; al-Pakhomi, from the Monastery of Saint Pachomius; al-Anba Mina, from the Monastery of Saint Menas, etc.

I visited Egypt for the first time in spring 1981 and spent three months visiting most of the monasteries and many parishes: that time I met many people, clergy, monks and nuns all around Egypt. I had several other one month visits in the following years. From 1994 to 2002, I visited India, the Middle East and Ethiopia for preparing my other books. I had more contacts with the Copts in Egypt during some stopovers on my way to Ethiopia. Again, I spent one month in Egypt in November-December 2002, in February 2004 and in December-January 2004-05. Outside Egypt, I also met Coptic communities in Europe, the Middle East and Africa.

Before finishing this introduction, I must express many thanks.

First of all I want to thank His Holiness Pope Shenouda III who has helped me in many spiritual ways since my first visit in Egypt.

I also wish to thank for their Letters of Blessing two Greek Orthodox Patriarchs: His Holiness Patriarch Bartholomew of Constantinople and His Holiness Patriarch Theodoros II of Alexandria; and His Holiness Pope Shenouda III.

Much of the information in this book was given to me by Copts, in Egypt and elsewhere. They, and other people, helped me greatly for writing this book. I want to thank them all. Among them special thanks are due to the following persons who also gave me great help in revising and correcting the text: Dr Magdi Girgis (for History); Bishop Dioscorus, Mr Mamdouh Abdou and Dr Sarwat Bassily, Father Moussa Nagib (for Organization of the Church); Dr Maurice Assad, Father Antonios Amin, Mr Samir Morcos, Dr Wolfram Reiss (for Sunday school); Father Moussa al-Anba Bishoi, Father Pigol Basili and Dr Yuhanna Nessim (for Liturgy); Father Tadros Malaty

and Dr Yuhanna Nessim (for Spiritual Life); Father Placide Deseille and Dr Otto Meinardus (for Monastic Life).

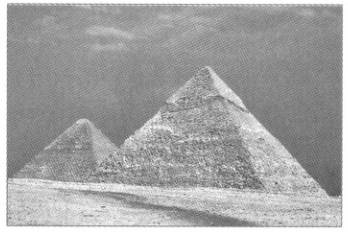
Last thanks, but not the least, are due to the humble Eastern Orthodox nun, Sister Helena, who helped me very patiently with the English text.

During my meetings with Copts, wonderful friendships took root. I want to thank all the Copts who have shared hospitality, time and conversations with me.

As Anba Moussa, the Coptic Orthodox Bishop for Youth, said (*Watani International*, November 14, 2004): " A book is the open letter addressed to an anonymous friend in any spot of the world. It is also a legacy to those not yet born. " Thus, I want to dedicate this book to all, known and unknown friends and people.

Chapter I

History



From about 3150 B.C., the rule of the Pharaohs made Egypt one of the wonders of civilized history, with the immortal names of capitals, pyramids and temples such as Memphis, Saqqara, Giza and Thebes (Karnak and Luxor).

In 332 B.C., Alexander the Great freed Egypt from the Persians who had occupied the country since 525 B.C.; he began the construction of the city which was to bear his name: Alexandria, which then became one of the largest cities on the Mediterranean Sea. When he died (323 B.C.), one of his generals, Ptolemy, and then his dynasty, held power for about three centuries. In 30 B.C., after the death of Cleopatra, Egypt became a province of the Roman Empire until A.D. 395.

According to the historian Eusebius of Caesarea (4th cent.), the Evangelist Saint Mark was the first to organize churches in Alexandria (*Eccl. Hist.* II, XVI, 1), probably in the 40s of the first century. He died a martyr in Alexandria, and is seen by the Copts as their first Patriarch.

Under some of the Roman rulers, Christians were persecuted in Egypt, mostly for refusing to worship the pagan gods: in 202, under Emperor Septimius Severus (193-211) the first persecutions began, which continued in 250 under Decius (249-51) and in 257-8 under Valerian (253-60), and lasted until the time of Emperor Maximinus (305-13), with the most severe periods under Emperor Diocletian (284-305).

In 330, under Emperor Constantine I (324-337), Constantinople (now Istanbul) became the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire. In 395, the Roman Empire was split between West and East, the latter then called the Byzantine Empire.

The Byzantines administered Egypt until 641.

After the Church schism of Chalcedon (451), Egypt remained part of the Byzantine Empire, until the Persians occupied Egypt for a short period (619-29). The Byzantine Emperor Heraclius (610-41) reconquered the country in 629.

In 639-41, the Arabs conquered Egypt, and they introduced Islam.

From 661 until 750, Egypt was ruled by the Umayyad caliphate, with its capital in Damascus; then by the Abbasids (750-1258) whose capital was in Baghdad and who also settled in Egypt.

There then followed the Tulunids (868-905), the Ikhshidids (935-69), and the Fatimid caliphs from Northern Africa (969-1171) who founded Cairo in about 969.

Then came the Ayyubids (1171-1250), Turko-Kurdish sultans, whose first ruler was Salah al-Din, known as Saladin (1171-93). He conquered Egypt in 1171 and had the so-called 'Citadel' in Cairo built.

In the early and mid 13th century (1219 and 1249), the Crusaders came to Egypt.

In 1250, the Ayyubids were overcome by the Mamluks (1250-1517), a dynasty formed mostly from Turkish mercenaries who became sultans.

From 1517, the Ottoman Turks added Egypt, as a province, to their Empire. The household of some Mamluks remained powerful, specially in the 18th century.

In 1798, Bonaparte landed in Alexandria with his expedition, which included some scientists. The French remained until 1801.

In 1805, Muhammad Ali Pasha (1805-49), an officer said to be of Albanian origin, became the new ruler of Egypt. In 1811, he massacred the remaining Mamluk leaders in Cairo and also excluded other powerful leaders and became sole master in the land. He installed a new dynasty that ruled Egypt until 1952. From his days until 1914, Ottoman Turkish sovereign control over Egypt was nominal.

In 1820, his son, Ibrahim Pasha, conquered Sudan, and Khartoum was founded in 1822. There was also Egyptian military expansion as far as Syria. Under Muhammad Ali, the Egyptian state was modernized in some ways.

From 1854, the newly-elected Patriarch Cyril IV re-organized the Coptic Church.

In 1855, the Copts were given equal rights of citizenship by the Egyptians which meant that they were no more 'protected' (*dhimmi*) nor paid the related tax (*jizyah*).

In 1869, under Khedive Isma'il (1863-79), the Suez Canal was inaugurated.

In 1874, the first lay council (*al-maglis al-milli*) of the Coptic community was formed to help in the supervision of matters of Church finance and jurisprudence.

From 1882, there began the administrative protection of Egypt by the British. British troops occupied Egypt. Since 1898, Sudan, which was considered part of Egypt until 1952, had also been under British control.

In 1900, Egypt was still a province of the Ottoman Empire, subject to British rule, with, as its head, Khedive Abbas II (1892-1914).

In 1908, Boutros Ghali became the first Coptic Prime Minister of the Egyptian government. He was assassinated in 1910. His grandson, Boutros Boutros Ghali, became Minister of State in 1977 and Deputy Prime Minister in 1991; then he was elected General Secretary of the United Nations (1992-96).

In 1911, a lay Coptic Congress was called at Asyut whose main agenda was to ask for equal citizenship rights. The same year, its requests were denounced by the Muslim Egyptian Congress of Heliopolis (Cairo).

The British deposed Abbas II and appointed his uncle. They ruled Egypt as a Protectorate (1914). Together, the Muslims and Copts resisted the British occupation of Egypt.

A new nationalist party, the *Wafd*, fought for independence. It was founded in 1919 by Sa'd Zaghlul (1858-1927). When he became Prime Minister, in 1924, he appointed two Coptic Ministers (from the *Wafd*): Murqus Hanna and Wassef Boutros Ghali.

In 1930, two Copts of the *Wafd* were appointed as Ministers: Wassef Boutros Ghali and Makram Ubayd, the general secretary of the *Wafd Party* (1927-42). Other Coptic Orthodox were also prominent in the *Wafd Party*, such as Wissa Wassef, Sinod Hanna and Fakhri Abd al-Nour.

In 1919, revolution broke out, as an uprising against the British occupation.

In 1922, the Ottoman Empire was declared deposed by the national

Turkish Assembly and, in 1923, the Republic of Turkey was created.

In 1922, the British Protectorate was suppressed in Egypt and the monarchy was re-established, again with King Fouad I (1917-36).

In the same year, nominal independence was proclaimed, but it was recognized as formal only in 1936, after the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty. The last British left Egypt in 1955.

In 1928, the Muslim Brothers appeared. Their movement (for the islamization of society), which had grown in the 1940s, threatened the national unity between Muslims and Christians in Egypt.

Until World War II, the Copts played an active part in the emancipation of the country.

In 1952, the last king, Farouk I (1937-52), was forced to abdicate. In 1953, the Egyptian Republic was proclaimed with, from 1954, President Nasser as leader. All political parties were abolished and he formed one party called 'The National Union'. The 1952 Revolution led to land reform and nationalization. Wealthy Muslim, Jewish and Christian families lost their property and emigrated.

In 1970, Sadat became the new President. In 1971, Pope Shenouda III was consecrated as head of the Coptic Orthodox Church.

From the 1970s, some Islamic groups have brought trouble for the Copts, with attacks and the burning of Coptic churches, shops and homes, and with Copts being hurt or even killed, until the present day.

In 1972, a fire was started in a Coptic church in Al-Khanka (30 km north of Cairo). Between 1977 and 1981, violent armed clashes repeatedly took place between Copts and Muslim militants in Cairo, Alexandria and parts of Lower and Middle Egypt.

In June 1981, after violence and rioting in Al-Zawiya al-Hamra (a suburb in north-east Cairo), buildings were damaged and destroyed and people were injured and even died, among them Christians.

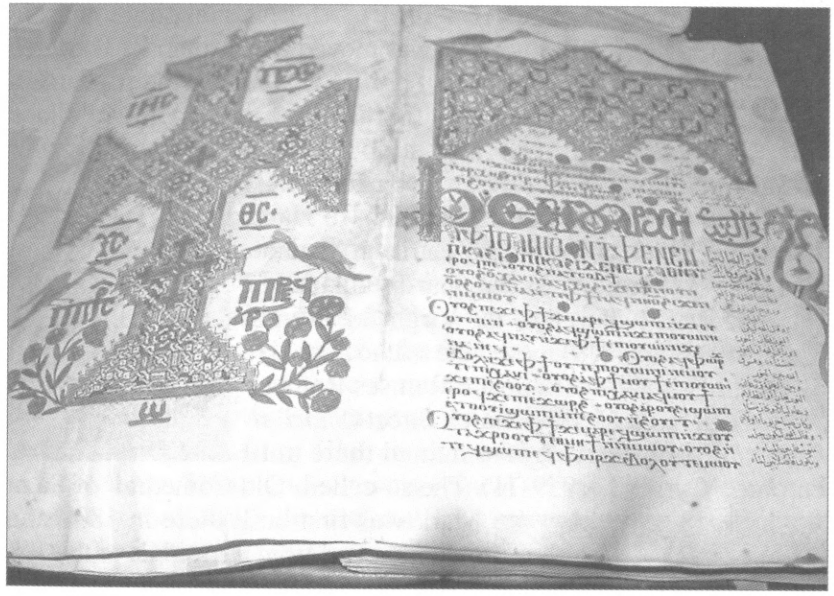
In September 1981, President Sadat arrested and imprisoned about 1500 people, not only Muslims but also about 150 Copts, among them eight bishops and thirteen priests.

In September 1981 till January 1985, Patriarch Shenouda was put under house arrest in his residence next to the Monastery of Saint Bishoi. A committee of five bishops was set up to govern the

affairs of the Church. In 2004, there were ongoing offences against the Copts and their property in Asyut and Minya governorates.

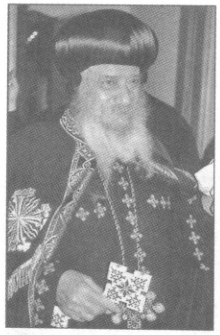
On October 6th 1981, President Sadat was assasinated by some Muslim extremists.

Since then, the President has been Hosni Mubarak.



Chapter 2

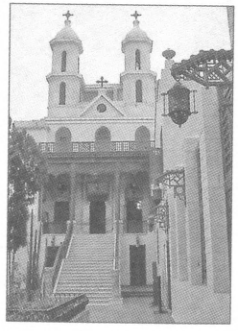
Organization of the Church

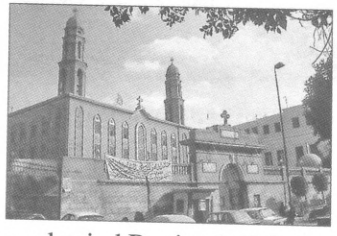


Short History

Pope Shenouda III, who became Patriarch in 1971, is the 117th Patriarch. He is also the Bishop of Cairo and Alexandria. His full title is Pope of Alexandria and Patriarch of the See of Saint Mark.

The first seat of the Patriarchate was in Alexandria. It was moved to Cairo under Patriarch Christodoulus (1047-1077). There the patriarchal residence was first in Old Cairo (in al-Mu'allaqa Church and also in Abu al-Saifain Church). Then Patriarch John VIII (1300-20) moved it to Greater Cairo, to Harat Zuwayla (Church of the Virgin). Patriarch Matthew IV (1660-75) resided in the near-by district of Harat al-Rum (Church of the Virgin). Patriarch Mark VIII (1796-1809) moved the seat to Azbakiya district, in Clot-Bey (opposite Ramses Railway Station), in Saint Mark's Church Street (*Shari' al-Kanisa al-Murqusiya*). It remained there until Patriarch Cyril VI (1959-71). The so-called 'Old Cathedral' of Saint Mark was first built there in 1800 and then modified from the middle of the 19th century. In the same compound, in a room adjacent to the Church of Saint Stephen, are buried six Patriarchs, from Cyril IV (1854-61) to Joseph II (1946-56). In another room, behind the Old Cathedral, are buried Patriarchs Mark VIII (1796-1809) and Peter VII (1809-52).





Since the time of Pope Shenouda III, the offices of the Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate have been on Ramses Street, in Abbasiya, on the way from Ramses Railway Station to Heliopolis.

For the 'modern period', Patriarch Cyril IV (1854-1861) reorganized the Coptic Church. He is called, and considered to be, the 'father of reform', or 'the Reformer'. In 1838, before becoming Patriarch, he had already opened a school for young Copts, in Bush, near Beni Suef. As Patriarch, he organized several schools of a modern type for boys and for girls. He introduced a printing press, brought from Europe, for Church publications. He visited Ethiopia.

The other personality to be mentioned is Cyril V (1874-1927) who visited Sudan twice. During his time, schools were organized, as well as the Library at the Patriarchate. The Theological Seminary was inaugurated in 1875, but it functioned from 1893. Since 1912, it was located in Mahmashah, behind the Railway Station. Its first dean was Yusuf Manqarius (d. 1918), followed by Habib Girgis (d. 1951) who developed Sunday school.

In 1874, a lay council of the Coptic community (*al-maglis al-milli*) was created to assist the Patriarch and under his chairmanship, with a new constitution in 1883 and others later. The main council was first established in Cairo, and then other councils were established in the dioceses under the presidency of the local bishops. These councils were established for the administration of civil affairs (or 'personal status') of the community (such as marriage, divorce, inheritance) and for management of the Church properties (churches and monasteries) and of Church endowments (*awqaf*, sing. *waqf*) and revenues. These endowments (*awqaf*) or charitable donations of money, buildings or land can be given in favour of a parish church, of a monastery, of the Patriarchate or of a benevolent association (*gam'aya*, pl. *gam'ayat*).

From the end of the 19th century, associations began to be founded with benevolent aims as well as with educational and cultural aims. Some dedicated, educated and wealthy lay Copts raised and gave money for organizing welfare programmes and for building schools, orphanages, clinics, hospitals and also churches.

The first benevolent association, known as *The Coptic Welfare Association* (*al-Gam'ayat al-Khayriyah al-Qibtiya*), was founded in 1881, mainly to help the poor; Boutros Ghali Pasha was its first

president. The association established a girls' school (1910) and the first Coptic Hospital (1924).

The second was *The Tawfiq Association*, in 1891, which established many primary schools for boys and girls, as well as technical schools.

In 1953, large areas of land (above 200 *feddans*, one *feddan* being 4200 m^2) were confiscated by the Egyptian government; but for the endowments (*awqaf*) under the Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, the churches, the monasteries and the benevolent associations, it was allowed to keep 200 cultivable *feddans* and 200 non cultivable *feddans* (law no 264, 1960). There is now a Ministry of Endowments.

From 1953 to 1955, the Coptic Orthodox schools and hospitals were also nationalized and came under the financial and administrative supervision of the Ministries of Education and Health. In 2004, under the *awqaf* commission in the Patriarchate in Anba Ruwais, there were two schools (in Zaytun and Marmashah), and no hospital.

Since 1964, the associations are registered in the Ministry of Social Affairs.

From 1955 (law no 462), the Coptic, and also Muslim, religious tribunals for family affairs such as marriage, divorce or inheritance were removed from the community (*millet*) councils and transferred to special state tribunals.

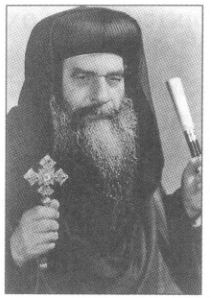
Today the Church central committee, the 'clerical council' (*al-maglis al-ekliriki*), in the Patriarchate has two divisions: a disciplinary tribunal for priests and an ecclesiastical tribunal to solve family problems, mainly for nullifying marriages in specific cases, as divorce is normally not accepted by the Coptic Church, except for adultery and difference of religion in the couple. There is a similar Church committee in each diocese.

In 2004, the *maglis al-milli* had eight subcommittees: buildings and lands, law, education, public relations, finance, family, engineering and projects. The central *maglis al-milli* is in Cairo and it has twenty-four members. In 2005, the Deputy was Dr Sarwat Bassily, a member in the Shoura Council and the chairman of a pharmaceutical company, and the General Secretary was Edward Ghaleb, a State councillor. Out of the

twenty-four members, two are priests while the others are lay men with one lay woman, as, since 1991, women became members. The President is Pope Shenouda III.

Every diocese has its own subsidiary *maglis al-milli*. In Alexandria the *maglis al-milli* has seven members and the other dioceses have five members.

The elections of the members of the *maglis al-milli* are made every five years, under the supervision of the Government (Ministry of Internal Affairs). In Cairo and elsewhere, Copts of different parishes registered as voting members can take part in elections, after receiving an election permit provided by the Ministry of Internal Affairs. In the second half of the 20th century, the Coptic Church experienced reform and spiritual revival, first under Patriarch Cyril VI (1959-71) and then with the present Patriarch, Shenouda III, in the organization of the Church, in social work, ecumenism and monastic life.



Since 1955, the Department of Social Studies of the Institute of Coptic Studies began its courses. It was headed by Father Makari al Suriani, the future Bishop Samuel, responsible, since 1962, for the Bishopric of Public, Ecumenical and Social Services. In 1959, he began the rural Diaconia Project, together with Maurice Assad, and also in cooperation with Father Boulos Boulos who was serving some villages in the Behera Province, around Damanhur.

In 1959, Patriarch Cyril VI consecrated the first Ethiopian Patriarch, Basilius.

The Coptic Orthodox Church was represented at the First Assembly of the World Council of Churches (WCC) in Amsterdam, Holland, in 1948, and it is one of its members. Since 1974, it is a member of the Middle East Council of Churches (MECC), and since 1963 of the All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC). Pope Shenouda III has been one of the WCC Presidents from 1991 to 1998. In December 2003, Pope Shenouda was elected as the President representing the Oriental Orthodox Family of Churches in the MECC where he had had previous responsibilities; and a Copt, Mr Girgis Saleh was elected as MECC General Secretary.

The Patriarch represents the Coptic Church to the Egyptian government. For important Christian festivals (Easter and Christmas), Muslim dignitaries come for greetings in the Coptic Patriarchate; and for the two main Muslim festivals (*Ayd al-Fetr* at the end of Ramadan and *Ayd al-Adha* which celebrates Ismail's sacrifice), Pope Shenouda and Coptic bishops visit the great *Mufti* and the *Shaikh* of the Mosque of al-Azhar in Cairo. Representatives of other Churches and of the government also attend. During Ramadan, at sunset, the Coptic Church, (including the Patriarch, Church dioceses and some parishes) organize meals (*iftar*) for Muslim dignitaries, to maintain good relationships. Since 2003, Christmas has become a national holiday in Egypt which is, according to the Coptic Orthodox calendar, on January 7.

In 1962, Pope Cyril VI began consecrating 'general bishops' or 'Patriarch's assistants': Bishop Shenouda, the present Patriarch, became responsible for Christian education at all levels; as was Bishop Samuel in the social service work in the Church and in ecumenism ('BLESS'); he has been replaced by Bishop Serapion, now Bishop with residence in Los Angeles, from 1985 to 1995, and since 1996 by Bishop Yuannis who is the director of 'BLESS' and also the private secretary of the Patriarch. In 1967, Bishop Gregorius was consecrated to be responsible for higher education and academic research.

Since 1980, Bishop Moussa is the Bishop responsible for all youth activities in Egypt and abroad. Several bishops are responsible for ecumenical affairs, mainly Metropolitan Bishoi of Damietta, the General Secretary of the Holy Synod, and Bishop Yuannis.

In 2004, there were ninety one Coptic bishops and archbishops in dioceses in Egypt and abroad, including some general bishops working in the Patriarchate, in different districts in the Cairo governorate, and in other governorates, as well as in the diaspora.

The Holy Synod, headed by the Patriarch, meets once a year, on the Saturday before Pentecost. It has several committees and subcommittees taking care of Faith and Education, Relations with other Churches, Secretariat, Diocesan Affairs, General Relations, Pastoral Care and Service, Liturgical Affairs and Monastic Affairs. Provisional committees are also convened for specific questions.

On July 18th, bishops meet for one day in the Monastery of Saint

Bishoi, in the residence of the Patriarch, to discuss issues according to their agenda. On November 14th, there is another meeting of the bishops, with Synod committees and a seminar, in the same place, when most Coptic bishops come to celebrate the anniversary of the consecration of Patriarch Shenouda. Every year some bishops make regular visits for spiritual retreats in their monastery.

For the election of the two last Patriarchs, names were chosen from the list of the candidates. The final decision was made by altar-lot. The names of the three last candidates are placed on the altar (*al-kora'a al-haikaliya*, Acts 1:26) and a child picks up one of them. The election is finalized by governmental decree.

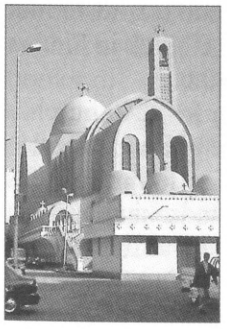
Visit to the Patriarchal Grounds, Organization of the Patriarchate

At the entrance of the Patriarchate (A), on the right of the main gate, one finds the Coptic Archaeological Society (B) with a good library of more than 15,500 volumes (open on Monday, Wednesday and Friday from 4 p.m. to 6.30 p.m., except in summer); and the Church of Saints Peter and Paul (C) built in 1911 by the family of Boutros Ghali Pasha, who was buried there.

On the left of the gate, in a little building (D), a committee responds to the social needs of poor people: it is presided over by Pope Shenouda who comes every Thursday.

The large building, to the left, is the residence of the Patriarch (E), with offices and reception rooms.

Opposite, there is the little Church of Saint or Anba Ruwais (F) with his shrine in the crypt, (take off your shoes); and with the relics of his disciple Saint Sulaiman and of Saint Apaly Ibn Yustus, at the bottom of the stairs on the left. In the crypt are also found the tombs of four Patriarchs contemporaries of Saint Ruwais (15th cent.): Matthew I (1378-1408), John XI (1428-52), Matthew II (1453-65) and Gabriel VI (1466-74).



The large cathedral (G), dedicated to Saint Mark, can welcome thousands of people. Its corner stone was laid in 1965 and its inauguration took

place in 1968, in the presence of President Nasser. Every Wednesday evening, from 6.30 p.m. to 8.30 p.m., Pope Shenouda gives a spiritual talk with many biblical insights. Just before, people can ask him questions by sending him little papers from which he selects some. Questions are very various: spiritual, pastoral and practical ones, often about daily life. Visitors can ask for translators in the Patriarchate. These meetings can be followed free through live broadcasting on the internet (www.copticpope.tv). People can also send questions to the Patriarch through email (ask@copticpope.tv). For the mute and deaf, there may be a priest interpreting in sign language.

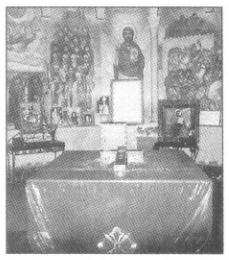
Pope Shenouda also gives a regular lecture in Alexandria, in the Cathedral of Saint Mark, twice a month (on Sunday at 6 p.m.).

Some bishops, together with other speakers, give similar spiritual talks in their cathedral.

Pope Shenouda has written more than a hundred books in Arabic, with translations into other languages.

Under the cathedral, there are two churches: one, named after Saint Mary and Saint Bishoi (H), where groups of Ethiopians have spiritual meetings. Next to it is the Church of Saint Mary and Saint Ruwais (I), where some meetings of university students organized by the Bishopric for Youth may take place, as well as meetings of Sudanese refugees.

Between the two churches is the reliquary room (*ma'sura*) of Saint Athanasius (J) where some of his relics brought from Italy in 1973 are kept. Behind it, in a shrine (K), three Coptic personalities are buried and some of their personal possessions are exhibited: the late Bishop Samuel, who was assassinated at the same time as President Sadat (1981); Bishop Gregorius (d. 2002) and Father Mikha'il Ibrahim (d. 1975), a priest of Saint Mark's Church in Shubra chosen by many as spiritual father.



The church service building for the churches in Anba Ruwais (L) is on the side of Ramses Street, with rooms for Sunday school, computers (internet and training), a library and a kindergarten.

At the back of the cathedral, on the eastern ground floor, there is a special shrine (M) where some relics of Saint Mark have been placed for

veneration. Relics of the saint had been taken from Alexandria to Venice in the 9th century and some were given back to the Coptic Church in 1968. Others of his relics are kept in the Cathedral of Saint Mark in Alexandria, on the left of the altar and in the crypt. Shoes should be taken off before entering these places.

At the side of the shrine (N) are the offices of the Patriarchate whose director in 2004 was Mr Mamdouh Abdou. There is the office in charge of the endowments or donations made by the faithful of lands and buildings or the Coptic Patriarchate, parishes and monasteries. Such donations cannot be sold. The income from these donations is used for the expenses of the parishes and monasteries and for poor people. The accounts are revised by a Church Office (*diwan*) which presents an annual report to the Endowments Authority Board (*hay'at al-awqaf*) after being audited by the State Central Accounting Authority (*al-gehaz al-markazy al-mohasabat*). In 2004, its secretary general was the State Counsellor Melek Mina. The commission is made up of thirteen members who have to be approved by the Egyptian President and who meet monthly.

When a Copt makes a donation to the Church, he has to specify for what purpose: for church repairs, for salaries of the priests and employees, for poor Copts of a village where the land is, etc; and who will distribute the revenues, he or the commission. He has to manage the gift and present an annual account to the commission. When this manager dies, the commission appoints a new one, from the same family or from the Church. For new donations, the donor can choose as manager himself and his descendants, or a bishop, or the commission.

Near the shrine of Saint Mark, is the building of the Theological Seminary (O) and its offices. The Bishopric for Youth (P) uses some rooms and lecture halls for meetings and classes, and it has a bookstore (Q). The secretary's office is on the first floor. Some youth activities also take place in the building of the Institute of Coptic Studies (see chapter 3).

The Institute of Coptic Studies (R) is located in the large two storey building near the Church of Anba Ruwais; and, on the ground floor, there is an auditorium for lectures and events (theatre, choirs).

In 2000, *The Pope Shenouda III Centre for Organization and Information Technology* was founded, under the supervision of Bishop

Ermia, another secretary of the Patriarch, which has two divisions: computer and microfilm. The Centre is mainly responsible for managing the Patriarch's website (www.copticpope.org), live broadcasting, video-conferencing, documentaries about the Patriarch and the Church, as well as software about Church affairs. The microfilm division helps researchers who need microfilms and microfiches of Coptic studies and manuscripts.

Between the Seminary and the Institute of Coptic Studies is the residence of the seminarians and of some bishops (S).

Four bookstores (Q) are found on the patriarchal grounds selling books, pamphlets (in Arabic, English and other languages), as well as pictures of saints, tapes and CDs (with sermons, Church songs), and church items (liturgical vestments and vessels, incense).

Under the Patriarchal residence is the main printing house of the Coptic Church (T) for books, the Church magazine (*Al-Keraza*) and other Church material like pictures and calendars, which was established by Bishop Dioscorus in 1979, and is directed by him. There are also an audio-visual centre and a shop (U).

Near by, there is a very high new building (V), under construction in 2004, which will provide accommodation for the bishops visiting Cairo. Several floors will be used for the new Saint Mark Library. All books and manuscripts from the libraries of the Coptic Institute, of the Theological Seminary and of the Old Patriarchate in Clot Bey, together with photographs, archives and microfilms from the monasteries and from abroad, will be gathered there.

At the back of the Institute of Coptic Studies is the building of the Bishopric of Public, Ecumenical and Social Services (BLESS) (W). The offices are open from Monday to Friday, from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m.

Opposite the building of BLESS, at the back of the compound, there is another building (U+Q) where are prepared and sold publications, as well as tapes and videos, by Pope Shenouda, and about him and the Church.

There are two cafeterias (X).

Three places in the Patriarchate remain to be described with more details: the Institute of Coptic Studies (R), the Theological Seminary or 'Clerical Faculty' (*al-koleya al-eklirikiya*) (O); and the Bishopric of Public, Ecumenical and Social Services (BLESS), (W).

The Institute of Coptic Studies (R) was founded in 1954 by some Coptic personalities, among them Professor Aziz Atiya, Doctors Sami Gabra, Bahor Labib, Zaher Riad, Murad Kamal and the late Bishop Gregorius who was appointed in 1967 as Bishop in charge of the Institute. Since 2000, its dean is Dr Rasmi Abd al-Malak who teaches education and psychology, helped by Dr Ishak Ibrahim the secretary general of the Institute.

Undergradute studies last four years; the diploma two years; the master degree two years minimum; and the doctorate two years minimum. Altogether there are about five hundred students laypeople (men and women), deacons and priests, university graduates, as well as students who finished theological studies and come for higher studies.

Several Coptic subjects are taught: history, language and literature, architecture, archeology, art, music, as well as social studies (sociology and education, psychology and media), African studies, foreign languages, and advanced theological studies. The Institute expects the graduates to be at the service of the Church. There is a library.

Among the departments are the following ones. In the department of Coptic art, an iconographical renewal was inspired by Isaac Fanous who teaches here. Since 2000, the Coptic icons and paintings conservation centre (documentation, photographing) is headed by Father Maximus al-Antoni. In the department of Coptic music, Dr Ragheb Muftah (d. 2001) made a collection of recordings and musical transcriptions. His successor is Dr Michael Ghattas. Since 1982, Dr Antun Yaqub Mikha'il is the head of the Department of African Studies (geography, history, religions and anthrophology).

From 1953, the Theological Seminary (O) has been located on the new patriarchal grounds in Abbasiya. The present building was dedicated in 1961. In 1962, Bishop Shenouda, the present Patriarch, was consecrated as bishop responsible for education, including theological education, and he is still its head.

Nowadays there are two sections: one for the seminarians from all around Egypt who will become priests; and the other, part time, for lay men and women who completed university studies, three times a week, (on Monday, Tuesday and Thursday, from 4 p.m. to 8 p.m.).

The following courses are given: theology, liturgy, Bible, patrology, Church history, ecclesiology, sociology, philosophy and languages, etc. The seminarians study four years for the bachelor's degree; two to three extra years for the master's degree; and from three to five years for the doctorate. In 2004, there were about twenty teachers for the forty-five seminarians and for about five hundred lay students.

Pope Shenouda himself gives some courses for the theological students in Cairo (on Tuesday), as well as a theological talk in Alexandria (twice a month, on Saturday).

In Muharraq's Monastery, near Asyut, a theological seminary was founded in 1905. In 2003, it was headed by Father Benjamin and there were sixty-four students, with twenty teachers, with a four year course of study.

There are also theological courses in the evening attended by deacons and lay people, who then become Sunday school teachers or serve in the Church. In some places, the students must be university graduates (in Cairo, Alexandria and Luxor), and in other places not (such as in Balyana, Tanta, Port Said, Shibin al-Kom, Damanhur, Shubra al-Kheima and Minya).

There is an Institute for the formation of church cantors (*mua'llimin*) and teachers called the Saint Didymus' Institute. It is now located in Shubra (42 *Sharia Elugu*, near the Church of Saint George), and, in 2004, it was under the direction of Father Antonius al-Suriani. It has a section in the Monastery of Muharraq (Asyut). In Cairo, the studies last six years; in 2004, there

were eighty students from all Egypt, including six blind students. In Muharraq's Monastery, the studies last five years with, in 2003, seventy-eight students from all Egypt, including twenty-three blind students.

The Bishopric of Public, Ecumenical and Social Services (BLESS), (W) is a general bishopric. It was founded with the concept of shifting from charity activities to structured development work. From 1962 to 1984, the work focused on diaconal services, community development centres, child care centres, vocational training centres, family services and social services, with projects at the national level.

From 1985 to 1995, the development department evolved into a round table programme in different fields (health, education, women and children, rural development, youth).

Since 1996, this programme has evolved into Comprehensive Integrated Development (CID) at community level, plus work for youth and education. The CID works in about thirty communities for each three year phase (both with Christian and Muslim communities), while the national programmes (youth and education) cover all the country. (see chart on p. 181).

The programmes under the CID are: the Community Organization (CO) programme to make the people become self-reliant making the best use of local and external resources; Health and Environment, to improve primary health care, women's reproductive health and family planning, as well as basic infrastucture (water, roads, housing, etc); Economic Development, with vocational training and income generating projects; Rural Development, to improve techniques of agriculture and livestock production using ecological practices; Children's Programme, to develop nurseries, to establish children's clubs and to advocate for children's rights; Education, with literacy classes and training of teachers; and Youth Programme to prepare them for playing an active role in the Church and society. Under the BLESS health department, with an office in Anba Ruwais, Sister Ruth is the head of a unit for the physically handicapped (paralysed, blind, deaf and dumb) and mentally handicapped, with training for people to work with the handicapped in all the dioceses of Egypt and with counselling for the parents.

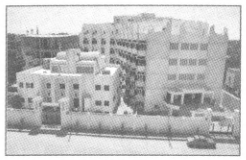
In addition there are three support centres: the Coptic Centre for

Human Resource Development (CCHRD), including training; the Coptic Centre for Social Studies (CCSS) including a section on citizenship; and the Coptic Centre for Public Relations (CCPR). There is also a support department with financial and administrative offices, and a Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation office (PME).

The CID development programme contributes to the development of poor and marginalized communities by developing the potential of people and improving their living conditions, socially, economically and culturally. Advocacy and gender are cross cutting issues. There is networking with governmental organizations (GOs) and non governmental organizations (NGOs), which enhances the Church's rôle as part of civil society as well as Christian-Islamic dialogue.

There are other programmes under BLESS, including combating female genital mutilation (FMG). The 'Best Life Programme' fights substance abuse (alcohol, drugs, smoke) and works for AIDS prevention. Counselling and therapies are offered to the patients and their families. There is also a rehabilitation centre in a farm. The 'Happy Life' Programme works with the physically and mentally handicapped, particularly children, through developing their potential. The social welfare 'Agapy' programme helps with cases of special hardship among poor people and the following services are found: financial assistance to the families and widows who have no source of income and to poor students, for marriages and funerals, and medical service for poor patients. 'Agapy' also helps for housing, for small income generating projects and for assistance in emergency cases. There is also a service and spiritual care for those who have nobody to look after them in some slum areas of Greater Cairo. Monthly financial assistance is also sent to poor Copts in Sudan.

BLESS is responsible for organizing all the ecumenical meetings, for administration and for finance. The Coptic Church has ecumenical contacts with the Orthodox, Catholic and Protestant Churches and ecumenical bodies. Some ecumenical and other conferences are organized in BLESS premises, and also in the Centre situated in the residence of the Patriarch (next to the Monastery of Anba Bishoi), and in the Centre of Saint Mark in Nasr City (next to the Church of the Virgin) where there is found a conference centre and a guest house, as well as the offices of CCHRD, of CCSS and of 'Best Life' Programme.



In the same Saint Mark's Centre, there is a kindergarten and courses of computer languages are given; other language courses are organized in the BLESS building; and there is a carpentry workshop in the compound of the Church of the Virgin in Mahmashah: these activities are part of the Service and Production Centres.

Since 2002, BLESS liaises with the National Population Council (Ministry of Health) by co-ordinating educational workshops for Christian and Muslim leaders, mainly priests and *shaikhs*, from all around Egypt, for training in social and medical perspectives such as family planning and women's health.

Every diocese and parish has its own social services, with literacy classes, clinics, health awareness programmes, family planning, as well as vocational and recreational centres.

In addition, many Coptic Orthodox benevolent associations (*gam'ayat*) have been founded all over Egypt and continue to be so until now. Their main concern is education, health and social help for needy persons among whom are old people and people with special needs (orphans, blind, mentally and physically handicapped, etc). They also organize nurseries and hostels for students. Some help to pay the weddings and funerals of poor people, and help them in other practical ways.

Some of the most important benevolent associations (*gam'ayat*) in Cairo are the following ones.

The Friends of the Bible Benevolent Association (*Gam'ayat Asdiqa' al-Kitab al-Muqaddas*) was founded in 1908 by Basili Boutros who became a priest and established Saint Mark's Church in Shubra.

In 1914, a branch of *The Coptic Faith Central Association* (*Gam'ayat al-Iman al-Qibtiya al-Markaziya*) was established in Geziret Badran Street (Shubra) under the name of *The Coptic Orthodox Iman Association*. It has established in Cairo six schools for boys and girls as well as kindergartens, primary, secondary, and commercial schools; two hospitals, a pharmacy and a printing press, as well as the Church of Saint George in Geziret Badran. They give special assistance to poor families.

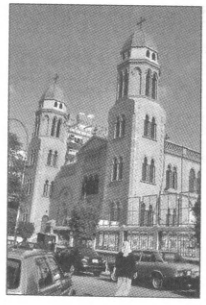
In 1924, *The Charity Association* (*Gam'ayat al-Mahaba*) was founded in Geziret Badran Street. Important work began in 1930 when Mr Yonan Nakhla from Asyut became the director and continued until his death in 1980, first with the orphanage and also with help to needy families and students. They also built the Church of Archangel Michael in al-Zuhur Street in Shubra (1957). After 1980, the association established, among other things, a hospital (2004) and a girls' hostel.

Founded in 1928 by Mr Matta Sawirus, in Shubra (near the Church of Mar Girgis in al-Geyushi Street, built by the association in 1938), *The Coptic Association for Peace* (*Gam'ayat al-Salam al-Qibtiya*) is now supervised by his son, Father Salib Matta Sawirus. It established a clinic and a school for orphan girls (1929), and later other schools for boys and girls; today they run an orphanage, hostels for students and a hospital. During the last decades, Father Salib and other Coptic Orthodox priests have been visiting Christians in prison.

Near by, still in Shubra, the association *Vineyard* (*Gam'ayat al-Karma*) founded in 1953 and then presided over by Fuad Basili, the future Father Boulos Basili, first built a home for the blind (for boys and girls, including orphan girls); they also have homes for old people and widows, as well as kindergartens, student hostels, a day clinic and a shop with books and tapes for the blind.

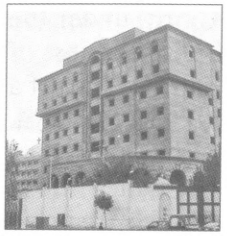
Since 1950, *The Coptic Association for Education at Giza* (*Gam'ayat al-Tarbiya al-Qibtiya bil Giza*) has opened more than fifty elementary schools in villages where there were no schools. It now concentrates on literacy for adults. It has university students' hostels.

Today, some church parishes also build and administer some hospitals, clinics and schools around Egypt.



Parish life, clergy, consecrated deaconesses and deacons

Parish life is very vibrant. The priests are very devoted and busy all the time: in church, in the administration work, visiting the people and sick, taking confession, following up the Sunday school system, organizing spiritual conferences and trips to monasteries, holy places and retreat houses. For example, a very well organized parish is that of Saint Mark in Heliopolis, an upper-class quarter



of Cairo with fourteen churches. Here, liturgies are celebrated daily. The faithful are more numerous on Friday, the official day off in Egypt, and on Sunday. On workdays, faithful may assist at an early liturgy before going to work. The parish is open from 6.30 a.m., for the first liturgy, until 10 p.m. There are two buildings where activities are held from 5 to 10 p.m., every day during the summer holidays, otherwise three times a week (Friday, Saturday and Sunday). Many activities take place for everyone. For the youth, Sunday school meetings and Bible study are organized, for children and up to undergraduate and graduate students; as well as courses (computer, languages), sport and regular youth camps, especially in the summer. There are spiritual and biblical meetings for women (in the morning), for families, for young couples, for workers, for elderly people, and for teachers who teach religion in government schools. Special social help is being organized for the poor who are visited regularly by people of the parish to help them in spiritual life, health and study. It is organized in such a way that each wealthy family has specific and continuous links with one or several families in need. It is based on a spirit of human sharing. Thus, in 2004, about four hundred wealthy families regularly visited and helped more than seven hundred and fifty families to cover their needs. This project, called 'Anba Abraham Service for the Urban Area', began with medical care and was inspired by the young Father Dawud Lamei who was a medical doctor and became a priest in 1998 (website www.stmarkoschurch.com).

As a matter of fact, many educated men, both young and mature, leave their liberal professions, (medical doctors, engineers, etc) in order to be consecrated as priests. Just after their ordination, the married priests spend a forty-day retreat in a monastery, the same time Jesus spent in the wilderness after His baptism, for a time of prayer and meditation and for practice of the liturgy.

Coptic women play an important rôle in the Coptic Church. Some

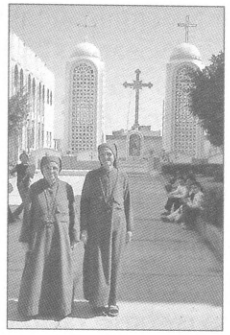
may have high work positions in the Patriarchate or in dioceses. Many are very active in Sunday Schools and in social projects.

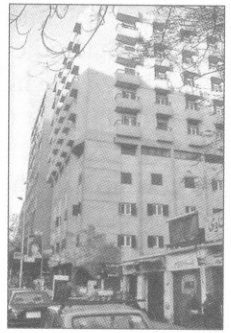
For Copts, the service (*khidma*) for the Church is important. Many Copts, of all ages, will do something to serve the parish and the Church. Some dedicate their whole life as celibate deaconesses and deacons. The consecrated deaconesses (*shamasat mukarasat*), are called by Copts 'taconi', 'my sister'.

In 1960, two young ladies, Fibi Ebeid (born in 1934) and her friend Jasmine formed the first group in Giza, Cairo, under the spiritual guidance of Father Salib Surial (d. 1994), the priest of the Church of Saint Mark in Giza. Fibi Ebeid was the daughter of a well-known rural preacher in Asyut, Archdeacon Ebeid Mikha'il. Both studied at Giza University in the Faculty of Literature, then they taught English in school. They wanted to dedicate their life to God, not in a monastery but serving people in the Church. To begin with, they worked in the morning and served the Church in the afternoon. In November 1959, together with Father Salib Surial, they visited Pope Cyril who blesses them to lead such a life. They were consecrated for their work in May 1960 by the late Metropolitan of Giza, Anba Yuannis. The young ladies lived first in a flat. In 1971 they, then eight sisters, moved to a villa (9 Ramzi Farag Street, opposite the Church of Saint Damiana built in 1971), which is now a day clinic. In 2004, there were twenty-two sisters of that group, most of them living in a building opposite the villa and having different activities. Sister Fibi is still alive and the superior. Five sisters became nuns; one, Mother Yuanna (d. 2000), became the head of the Convent of Saint George in Old Cairo.

From 1963 until he became Patriarch in 1971, Bishop Shenouda was also their spiritual father. In 1981, Pope Shenouda officially blessed a group of twenty eight elderly deaconesses. Then younger women were accepted.

Groups of deaconesses were organized by several bishops in their dioceses such as, Bishop Bimen in Mallawi, Bishop Pachomius in Damanhur, Bishop Benjamin in Shibin al-Kom,





Bishop Tadros in Port Said and Bishop Bishoi in Saint Damiana Convent.

In 2004, more than four hundred of them were working in all the dioceses around Egypt. Many have completed university studies.

Since 1985, the Holy Synod discussed the status of deaconesses and rules were approved in 1991. There are several stages: a preparatory trial time prior to becoming a 'consecrated virgin' (*mukarasa*, plur. *mukarasat*); then a subdeaconess; and finally a deaconess. For the sake of simplicity, the general term 'deaconess' will be used in this book.

One must be more than forty to become a deaconess. Their consecration (*takris*) is performed by the bishop in the diocese where they will serve. The prayer takes place before the liturgy, without laying on of hands. Deaconesses have nothing to do with the service of the altar.

They live in small groups, in houses organized for their life, with prayer and meals in common. Their timetable and prayer rules may differ a little from one diocese to another and also according to their work.

The deaconesses work with women, young girls and children. They can serve in parishes, specially during women's meetings, and they also do other spiritual and social work, around Egypt and abroad, such as: in kindergartens, in orphanages, in homes for aged women; as well as serving poor and visiting the sick. They supervise girls' hostels. They can serve physically and mentally handicapped girls and women and all women with problems. They can help the priest for baptisms of women or girls as well as keep order among women in the church.

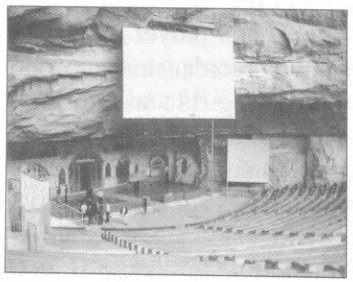
Some men have chosen to follow a similar consecrated life for serving the Church, specially at the spiritual and social levels. There is no well defined order for them. Some may become celibate priests

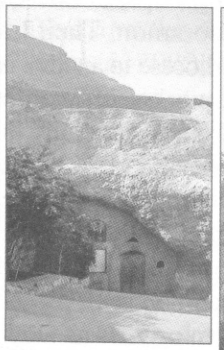
in parishes, without becoming monks. In 2004, there were at least thirty dedicated celibate deacons and priests in Egypt.

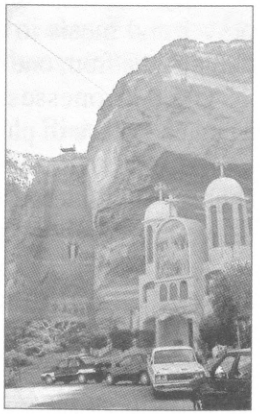
In 1955, the hostel of Coptic deacons (*Bait al-shamamsa*) was opened in Giza (3 *Sharia Ebn i'es al-Mari*, near Saint George Church), to host university students and to train them as deacons to serve in parishes and teach; their main service was, and still is, to go to villages of Giza governorate to teach and preach. When they go back home, they do the same activities (meetings, Sunday school teaching). Since 1962, the hostel is headed by Archdeacon Ramses Naguib who is consecrated for the work in the hostel. Many celibate deacons served here, such as the present Metropolitan Abraham of Jerusalem who served here as a deacon for about twenty years. All youth meetings of Giza take place in the hostel's hall.

From 1959, a group of celibate laymen shared a dedicated community life in a house in Helwan called the 'House of Consecration for the Service of the Missionary See of Saint Mark' (*Bait al-Takris li Khidmat al-Marqusiya*). In 1975, they moved to Dair al-Malak quarter where three of them were living in 2004.

To conclude this chapter, let us name some social and retreat centres organized by Coptic bishops and priests.

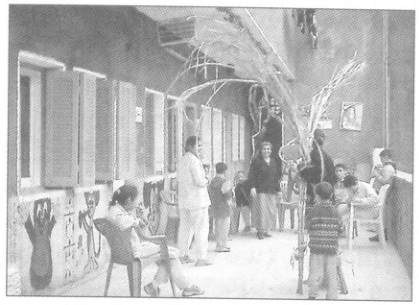


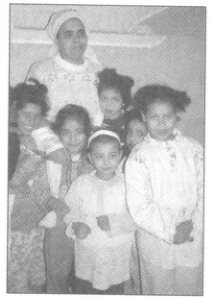




Since 1978, the Centre of Saint Simeon the Tanner was developed in Muqattam, (Cairo), where several large churches and meeting places have been built in the rock of the mountain. For the neighbouring garbage collectors (*zabalin*), there is a centre for development with

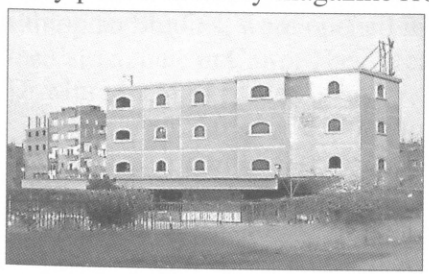
nursery, clinic, literacy classes, seminars and vocational training centres.





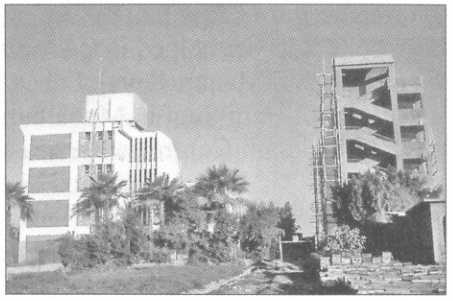
There are other places where the garbage collectors are helped in Cairo such as two centres under BLESS (in Semen and Matamadeya). Other similar social centres are run by the sisters of Beni Suef in Muqattam, in Tora (Ma'adi) and in Azbet al-Nakhl (Salam Centre) where Sister Emmanuelle used to live.

Since 1981, Father Anastasi al-Samueli is responsible for the boarding house of the seminarians in the Patriarchate and for their spiritual life. The same year, he also founded the 'Family of Saint Abraham' to serve, with a merciful and ecumenical spirit, people who have nobody to help them, in and around Egypt. He is assisted by Deacon Rafat Hasab Allah and by a team of about fifty people with wages, and by about five hundred volunteers, including the seminarians: all receive training to serve the sick people in hospitals and at home, about two thousand physically handicapped, seven hundred blind, about one thousand deaf and dumb, six hundred and fifty elderly people, prisoners and their families, orphans, one thousand five hundred poor people, as well as Christians who converted and come back to the Church; financial help and clothes are given to poor students, as well as help for poor, for girls at their marriage, for Sudanese refugees, for families with financial difficulties; and places are built and rented for homeless people. They print a monthly magazine *Hope* (*Al-Raga*).



Since the late 1980s, after Bishop Bisanti was appointed as the bishop of Helwan and Ma'asara, a Centre called Saint Barsum al-Aryan Monastery (20 acres) began to be built at Ma'asara, an industrial and popular area south of Cairo. Among

the many services are: a youth and literacy centre, a bookshop, a retreat centre, hostels for girls and boys, a kindergarten, health care (with a hospital, a home for aged and blind, a physiotherapy service) and a home for physically and mentally handicapped. In order to improve the standard of living in the area, workshops have been organized for vocational training and job opportunities (carpentry, toy factory, leather work with a shop, making clergy vestments and embroidery), (www.st-barsoum.com).



Bishop Petros, a general bishop, recently founded a charitable centre in Patmos, (on the way to Suez, km 31), with three churches. Some deaconesses help mentally handicapped persons of all ages; besides, there are homes for old people, a carpentry workshop, a floor-tiles factory and a language school.

In 1999, the retreat centre and farm of 'Anafora', on the desert road on the way to Wadi al-Natrun (75 km from Cairo, 35 km from Wadi al-Natrun), was founded for spiritual retreats and seminars by Bishop Thomas of Qusiya who has several social projects also in his diocese.

Many web sites are now organized on the Coptic Church, by the Patriarchate and by parishes in Egypt and in the diaspora: see some of the main adresses at the end of the book.

Chapter 3

Mission and Diaspora

This chapter deals with the missionary activities of the Coptic Church and with the life of the Copts who emigrated from Egypt.

Mission in Africa

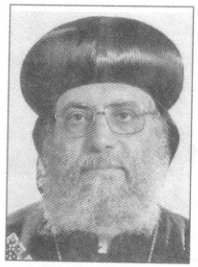
From Egypt, Christianity was spread to neighbouring places such as Pentapolis (east of Libya) and Nubia (north of Sudan). The first bishop of Ethiopia, Frumentius, was consecrated in the 4th century by Saint Athanasius, the head of the Church of Alexandria. During his exile in what is now Germany and Italy, Saint Athanasius must have been a great confessor of the Christian faith. The martyr saints (late 3rd cent.) of the 'Theban Legion', today's Luxor area, are seen by the Copts not only as witnesses of faith but also as missionaries, in what is today Switzerland and surrounding areas.

Since the middle of the 20th century, Coptic mission as such began to be organized in several countries in Africa, under Patriarch Yusab II (1946-1959). In 1948, a Coptic priest was sent to South Africa in response to a request from a South African community. Anba Marcos was ordained in 1950 as the first Metropolitan of South Africa and Nigeria. He, with two monks and a deacon, arrived in South Africa in the same year. The bishop went back to Egypt in 1951 where he died in 1952. Then, from 1950 to 1968, Father Isaac al-Anba Bishoi was the only Coptic priest remaining in South Africa.

In 1954, two departments, one of African Studies and one of Ethiopian Studies, were opened in the Institute of Coptic Studies in the Patriarchate in Cairo. They became one department in 1962 when Dr Murad Kamil passed away.

Since 1985, Africans coming to Egypt for theological training go to the Bishopric of Monofeya, with headquarters in Shibin al-Kom, under Bishop Benjamin.

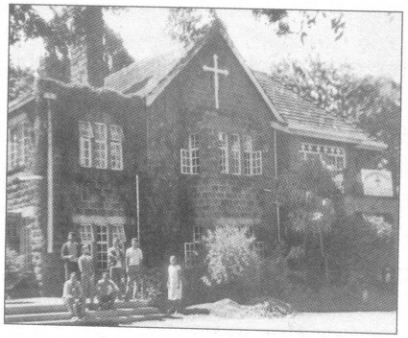
In 1976, the Bishopric of African Affairs was established and a medical doctor, who had lived for nine years in Ethiopia and had

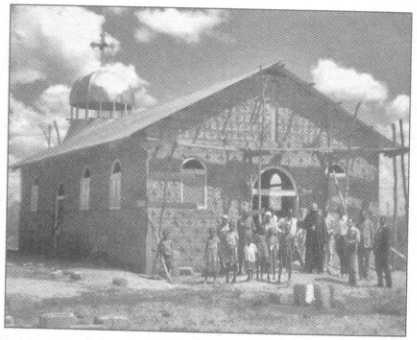


become a monk in 1975, was consecrated as Bishop Antonius Markos, in charge of the African Affairs mission. In 1976, he went to Nairobi, Kenya, in order to organize missionary activities in Africa.

In 1979, Pope Shenouda visited Nairobi and he laid the foundation stone of the first Coptic church built in east Africa.

In 1980, the first Coptic monastery, named after Saint Antony, was established in Nairobi.





In 1983, a property was bought in Nairobi which became the Saint Mark's Coptic Centre, the seat of the mission headquarters.

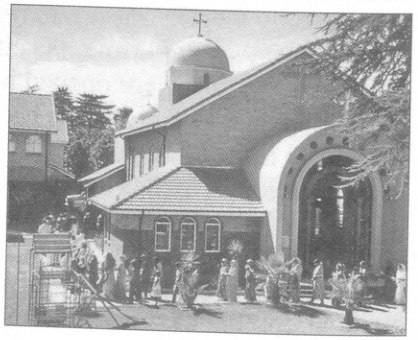
In 1981, three Kenyans were ordained as Coptic priests.

By 1989, the Coptic Church was introduced among four of the major Kenyan tribes: Kikuyu, Akamba, Luo and Abaluhya.

In 1988, a Sudanese deacon of Coptic origin, Paul Fouad, was ordained as the first married priest in Nairobi.

Missionary activities expanded as well in other African countries (see below).

Since 1992, Bishop Markos began to organize another bishopric of African Affairs in Johannesburg, South Africa, which is now the main African Mission Headquarters.



Bishop Markos is now responsible for expansion of the mission in South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Ivory Coast, Ghana

and Togo. There are occasional services in Botswana, Lesotho, Mallawi and Swaziland. Since February 2005, missionary activities have begun in Cameroon. There are also plans for Liberia.

Since 1999, he is helped in western Africa by Father John Ramzy, a Canadian Coptic trilingual priest, who resides in Abidjan, Ivory Coast.

In 1995, a second bishop was consecrated for mission, Bishop Paul, with residence in Nairobi. Bishop Paul is responsible for Kenya, Tanzania, the Democratic Republic of Congo (previously Zaire), and Zambia.

Bishop Markos travels not only in Africa, but also in Egypt, the United States, Canada, Australia and Europe where he teaches the theology of mission.

In several African countries, services have been established for the local communities such as vocational training centres, workshops, clinics and theological instruction.

Bishop Markos has written three books on the history of the Coptic mission in Africa, in Arabic and English. There are also CD presentations of the missionary work.

In Africa, outside Egypt, the Coptic Church is concerned with pastoral care for the Copts as well as with evangelistic outreach generally.

In 2004, there were Coptic parishes in the following countries named below in alphabetical order.

In the Democratic Republic of Congo, the Coptic Church has been present since 1993. In 2004, there were 3 churches in Lubumbashi, served by local priests.

In Ethiopia, there is no fixed priest and some Copts pray on Sunday in a chapel adjacent to the Church of Saint Mary, next to the Patriarchate.

In Ghana, the Coptic Church was registered in 2003 and, in 2004, there were periodical services.

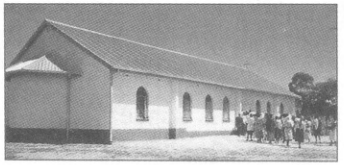
In Ivory Coast, the Coptic Church was registered in 1998. Since 1999 it was served by Father John Ramzy. The Saint Mark's Centre in Abidjan was built and opened in 2003.

In Kenya, the Coptic Church was officially registered in 1977. In 1994, the Saint Mark's Cathedral in Nairobi was consecrated by Pope Shenouda. In 1980-82 three church buildings were completed

in Ukambani region; two in the Rift Valley (1984, 1989); four in Nyanza region (1985-93); one in Gombe (1986); and Saint Menas' Monastery in Maseno (1990). In 2004, there were 7 churches around Maseno.

In 1989, the Coptic community in Nairobi had 2,500 baptised, with local priests and deacons ordained. In 2004, there were 17 churches, 7 priests, and 40 local deacons. A hospital, started in 1990, works in the Saint Mark's Centre in Nairobi (50 beds); in 2004 the Hope Centre began to help people with HIV. Since 2005, there is also a clinic in Maseno. The Monastery of Saint Menas in Maseno, (400 km from Nairobi, 30 km from Lake Victoria, and 30 km from Kisumu), is now a mission station with a guest house.

In Libya, a church, given by the government, was inaugurated by Pope Shenouda in 1972, with about 1,000 Copts. In 2004, there were three Coptic churches, in Tripoli, in Benghazi and in Misrata, having two priests. These communities are under the supervision of Bishop Pachomius of Damanhur.



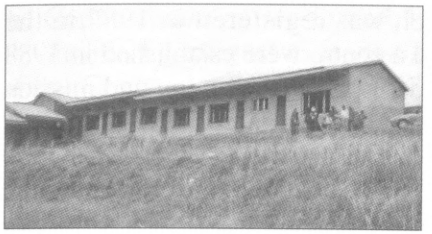
In Namibia, one church was built in 1998 in the north, in Ondogawa, with a vocational training centre; the other church, in the capital, Windhoek, was in the inception stage in 2005.

In South Africa, the Saint Mark's Coptic Centre began to be organized in Johannesburg, in 1992. Father Johannes Awadalla, a Copt from Canada, was ordained as the first priest to serve in South Africa, from 1993 until 1998.

In 1994, Saint Mark's Church was consecrated in Johannesburg. In 1999, the Saint Mark's Cathedral was opened for use.

An independent Church, a following of Daniel William Alexander ordained by William McGuire, calling itself 'The African Orthodox Church in South Africa' which owned lands, buildings and three churches, joined the Coptic Orthodox Church. Some of their bishops and priests were ordained as Coptic priests: 7 in Cairo in 1994 and 7 more in South Africa in 2004.

In 1995, Coptic Churches were consecrated by Pope

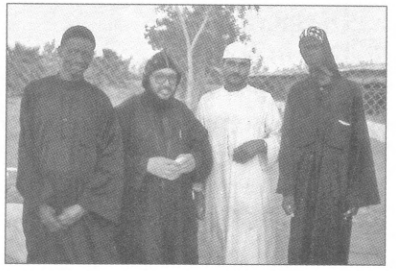


Shenouda in Tumahole, Parys (Free State) and Guguletu (Cape Town). Pope Shenouda also consecrated four additional churches in 1997 in Nongoma (Kwazulu Natal), Soshanguve (Pretoria), Tembisa (Gauteng) and Vosloorus. In 2000, the church building was completed in Mvunyane (Natal). In 2003, churches began to be constructed in Carletonville (Free State) and Mogogello (Mpumalanga). There are projects for building churches in Durban, Port Elizabeth and Vredefort (Free State). There are also communities in Johannesburg and Pretoria.

In 2000, the Saint Athanasius' Theological Institute was established in Johannesburg for training and educating an African leadership. By 2005, 14 priests had been trained and ordained for service in South Africa, while development and education of deacons of different nationalities is ongoing.

There are vocational training centres in Nongoma and in Guguletu. Others are being established in Soshanguve and Parys.

Copts have been present in Sudan since the early 19th century, when Muhammad Ali annexed the country in 1820. In 1852, a Coptic church existed in Khartoum. In 1885, General Gordon found one Coptic bishop, seven churches and one monastery. The oldest remaining church in Khartoum was built in 1904.

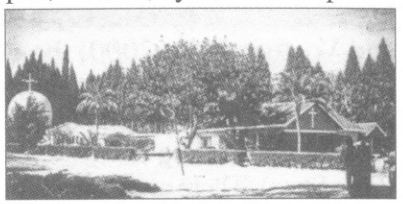


Today there are two dioceses: Khartoum, under Bishop Elia, and Omdurman, under Bishop Sarabamon. Some Sudanese people have converted to the Coptic Church. There are Coptic clubs for youth and sport; a Coptic school; and some development projects (cattle and sheep). There are two Monasteries, of Saints Antonius and Musa north of Khartoum) and Saint Paul's in Jebek Aoulia (south of Khartoum).

In Tanzania, the Coptic Church was registered in 1997, with a church built in 1999, in Musoma.

In Togo, the Coptic Church was registered in 2001. There is one congregation, in Lome.

In Zambia, the Coptic Church was registered in 1984 in the capital, Lusaka. The cathedral and a centre were established in 1988 and consecrated by Pope Shenouda in 1994. A training and mission centre was organized, as well as a 16 bed clinic. There is another church in Kenyama, a compound in Lusaka. Since 1998 Father John Banoub serves in Zambia and was helped, in 2005, by a Zambian priest.



In Zimbabwe, the Monastery of Saints Mark and Antony was established in the capital, Harare, in 1988. In 2005, a new church was being established in Harare. There is another church in Dema, in the suburb of Seke, in Mashonaland East, consecrated in 1997; it has a vocational training centre. There is a new congregation in Epworth.

Africans feel that the Coptic Orthodox Church is respectful of their indigenous cultures. Many Africans are interested in joining the Coptic Orthodox Church as being an ancient apostolic Church in Africa.

The Coptic liturgy and services have been translated into several African languages. Some people in North America and Latin America, Europe and Australia have also converted and become members of the Coptic Orthodox Church: for them, as well as for the Copts, especially the youth, living outside Egypt, the liturgy and prayers have been translated into local languages.

Diaspora

Due to political, economic and religious reasons, the emigration of the Copts began in the 1950s. The nationalisations by Nasser in 1952 prompted the first wave of Coptic emigration. Another difficulty in Egypt was, and still is, finding work. Since the 1970s, because of the reaction of certain Muslim fundamentalists, the Copts saw a better future for their children outside their homeland. For all these reasons, Copts migrated: first to North America and Europe; then to Australia and the Middle East and the Arab Gulf states; as well as to African countries and recently even to Latin America and Asia. From 1962, after his consecration by Pope Cyril VI (1959-1971), Bishop Samuel made regular trips to look after the Copts living abroad. Since he became Patriarch in 1971, Pope Shenouda III has sent many priests from Egypt in order to serve

the Coptic communities abroad. He himself regularly visits them.

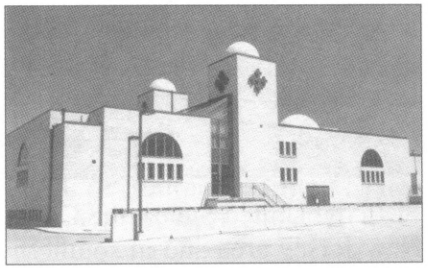
Outside Egypt, just as is customary in Egypt, much of the life of the Copts is concentrated on the Church and the family. The families have close contact with the clergy. It is a priority for Copts to educate their children in a traditional Christian way. In the diaspora, Sunday School is organized everywhere. In some countries, Coptic kindergartens and schools have been established, as well as theological colleges.

Copts living abroad also participate in helping some social programmes in Egypt. For example, the association, *Coptic Orphans*, founded in the United States in 1989, helps orphans and vulnerable children in Egypt; it has offices in Canada and Australia. They have an office in Cairo, in Heliopolis.

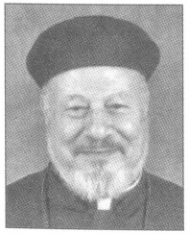
Today there are important Coptic Orthodox communities living around the world, mainly in North America, Europe, Australia and the Middle East. Some estimate that about half a million Copts live outside Egypt. The countries which have no bishop are under the direct jurisdiction of Pope Shenouda.

Some of these parish congregations publish a newsletter or a magazine and some have a web site.

North America

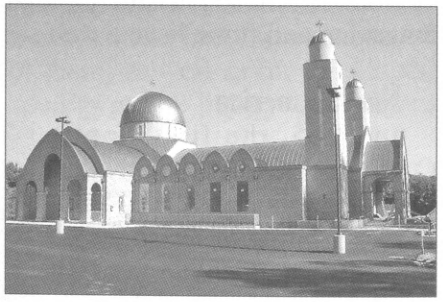


In 1965, the first Coptic Orthodox Church in North America was registered, Saint Mark's Church in Scarborough (Toronto), in Canada. Its first priest, Father Marcos E. Marcos, was the first Coptic priest to be commissioned to North America in 1964 to visit Copts. In 1967, Father Raphael Nakhla (d. 1990)



was assigned to serve the Saint Mark's Coptic Orthodox Church in Montreal (Quebec). Both continued to minister to Copts in Canada and the U.S. until other priests were appointed. In 1987, His Holiness Pope Shenouda III laid the foundation stone of the Saint Mark's Cultural Centre, a building attached to Saint Mark's Church in

Scarborough. One of the activities in the Centre is Saint Mark's Coptic Museum, which was opened to the public in 2000. In 2002, Saint Mark's community purchased a 12 acre piece of land in the district of Markham (5 minutes drive from Saint Mark's Church). This project, Coptic-Canadian Village, will include a cathedral, a church, an academic school (grades 1-12), apartments for the elderly and a nursing home. Since 1995, 'BLESS Canada', working out of Saint Mark's Church, has a variety of projects and activities, specially designed to meet the different and special needs of the disadvantaged Copts in Egypt. In 2004, there were twenty-six churches in Canada in the following provinces: Alberta (3), British Columbia (1), Ontario (17, with 2 in Ottawa the capital and 3 in Toronto), Quebec (3, all in Montreal), Nova Scotia (1), and Winnipeg (1). The largest parishes in Canada are: Saint Mark and Saint George and Saint Ruwais in Toronto, Saint Mary and Saint Athanasius in Mississauga and Saint Mark in Montreal. In 2005, the estimated number of Copts was 60,000. Three churches (Toronto, Missiauga and Montreal) each host academic schools.



In the United States, the Copts first settled in the New York and New Jersey area and in southern California, in the mid 1950s. In 1970, a church, dedicated to Saint Mark, was purchased in Los Angeles after the arrival of Father Bishoi Kamel (d. 1979) who came, in December 1969 from Alexandria, to serve for about half a year. He was followed by Father Tadros Malaty, also from Alexandria. In 1970, another church, also dedicated to Saint Mark, was bought, in Jersey City (New Jersey) by the first priest appointed to serve the church, Father Gabriel Abdelsayed (d. 1993).

In 1977, when Pope Shenouda made his first pastoral visit in the U.S.,

there were twenty parishes. In 1989, during his second pastoral visit, he inaugurated two theological seminaries, one in Jersey City, (which was then moved to Cedar Grove, New Jersey), and the other in Bellflower (Los Angeles county).

Since 1991, the Archdiocese of North America has its headquarters in Cedar Grove, New Jersey, now with Bishop David as the Vicar Bishop for the East Coast. There, an organization called 'BLESS USA', is responsible for supporting charitable projects in order to help Copts in Egypt. 'BLESS USA' is the U.S. arm of the Bishopric of Public, Social and Ecumenical Services headquartered at the Patriarchate in Cairo.

In 1995, two dioceses were established: one for southern California headed by Bishop Serapion (Diocese of Los Angeles, which covers southern California and also Hawai); and the other for Texas and Florida headed by Bishop Yusuf (Diocese of Southern United States, which covers states from Florida to Arizona).

In 2004, a rough estimation numbered about 400,000 Copts, and there were about eighty parishes all around the country.

Since 2002, Coptic kindergartens and elementary schools have been established in Nashville, Washington and Los Angeles.

From 2001, the diocese of Los Angeles has established a humanitarian organization, the 'Saint Verena's Charity', in order to support needy people in the diocese as well as in Egypt, Kenya and Sudan. The 'Saint Paul's Brotherhood' was also established for young men who want to dedicate their life to Church service as celibate deacons and priests. Since 2003, there is also a 'Saint Verena's Sisterhood' of deaconesses.

The social services of the diocese of Southern United States include a student loan programme, a legal aid service and 'HOPE', the charitable branch of the diocese.

Saint Athanasius' Theological Seminary in San Antonio, Texas, was opened in 2001.

Certain lay members of the Coptic Church in the U.S. formed some non-profit organizations for charity (e.g. *The Coptic Association for Social Services* in Los Angeles), for education (e.g. *The Coptic Educational Foundation* in Los Angeles) as well as for cultural and political purposes (e.g. *The American Coptic Association* and *US Copts*).

There is an annual meeting of all the priests of North America in the presence of the Patriarch. There is a strong youth movement with summer and winter conventions at parish and regional levels, as well as family conventions.

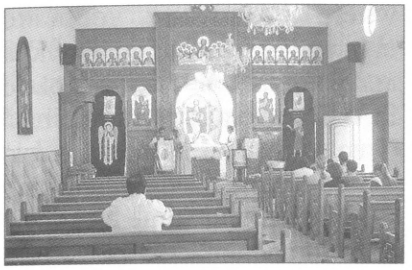
In 2000, Pope Shenouda III established the Office of Ecumenical Affairs (initially in New York City and now in Cleveland, Ohio) and appointed Subdeacon Bishoi M. Mikhail as its Ecumenical Officer to coordinate the ecumenical activities both within the Archdiocese and with the various Christian churches in the United States. The Office represents the Coptic Church to the Standing Conference of Oriental Orthodox Churches, the Joint Commission between the Eastern and Oriental Orthodox in North America, the National Council of Churches and other bodies and organizations.

In Saint Antony's Monastery (near Barstow, California, about two hour's drive from Los Angeles), the first monk, who became Bishop Dioscorus, was ordained in 1977. Subsequently the monastery grew, was recognized by the Holy Synod in 1993, and its first abbot was Bishop Karas (d. 2002).

Central and South Americas and the Caribbean Islands

Since 1989, the Coptic Church has been present in the Caribbean Islands, where there are now three parishes (Bermuda, Saint Thomas in the U.S. Virgin Islands and Saint Kitts). These parishes serve native people of these islands who have joined the Coptic Orthodox Church. Services also extend to Copts who reside in Puerto Rico, served by the priest of the church on Saint Thomas, Father Antonios Connor.

In Mexico City, there is one church being built and one priest, Father Agapius al-Anba Bula who arrived in 2002.



In Brazil, in Sao Paolo, an early service was started in 1990. The current service started with the arrival of Father Agathon al-Anba Bula in 1994. A church in the Coptic style and iconography was built and it serves both Egyptian Copts and Brazilians. The congregation is a growing and vibrant one.

In Bolivia, in Santa Cruz, there is a growing community served by Father Yusuf al-Anba Bula who arrived in 2000.

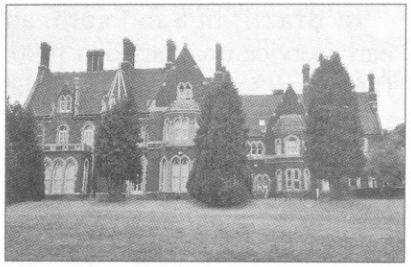
These mission parishes all exist under the direct care and supervision of Pope Shenouda III who has assigned Father Mikhail E. Mikhail, Archpriest of Saint Mark Coptic Orthodox Church of Cleveland, Ohio, to assist him in the affairs of these parishes.

Europe

In Great Britain, a number of Copts settled in London from the 1960s. Liturgies were celebrated by travelling bishops and priests such as Bishop Samuel and Father Salib Surial. The first appointed priest, in 1969, was Father Antonius al-Syriani. The celebrations took place in a rented church in Holborn. In 1979, Pope Shenouda III consecrated the Church of Saint Mark in Allen Street, London, the first Coptic church consecrated in Europe, then with two priests. In 1980, another priest joined them, Father Antonius Thabet Shenouda. These priests used to serve in several towns in Great Britain (Birmingham, Manchester, Cardiff, Glasgow and later in Brighton), as well as in Ireland (Dublin) and in other European places. In 2004, there were 20 parishes and two Coptic centres (Birmingham and Stevenage).

In 2004, a small monastery named after Saint Athanasius was opened (2 monks) in Scarborough in north-east England.

Since 1982, Bishop Misa'il is responsible for the diocese and Coptic Centre in Birmingham. Since 1995 Bishop Antony is responsible for Ireland (with one community in Dublin), Scotland, North East England and its affiliated areas, and resides in Newcastle. Since 1999, a general bishop, Anba Angelus, looks after the Coptic Centre near London, in Stevenage, a manor bought in 1991,



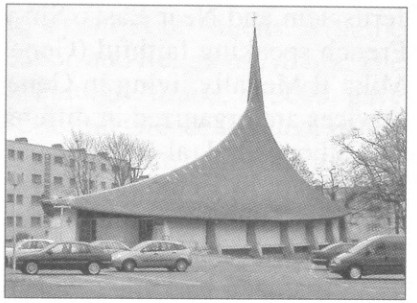
where activities for youth are organized as well as conferences and seminars. In the same place is located Saint Athanasius' Theological College for lay people where lectures are given during week-ends and some evenings, for a duration of four years. There is a project for building a large church and a multipurpose activity hall. Bishop Angelus is also responsible in the United Kingdom for press and public relations, including ecumenical affairs. Since 1997, Metropolitan Seraphim is the head of the so-called British Coptic community.

In Germany, the first sporadic celebrations began to take place in the 1960s. From 1975 until 1992, Father Salib Surial (d. 1994) established seven parishes, the first in Frankfurt. In 2004 there were communities in Stuttgart, Düsseldorf, Berlin, Hamburg, Hanover, Bonn and Munich; and also in Nuremberg, Trier, Bremen, Dortmund and Bitburg. In 2004, there were about 6,000 Copts, 5 married priests and 4 monk priests. In 1980, a monastic and meeting centre was organized in the Monastery of Saint Antony in Waldsholms-Kröffelbach (50 km north Frankfurt). Its abbot is Father Michael al-Baramusi. Since 2002, theological courses began there at week-ends. Since 1993, the Copts have restored a benedictine monastery, re-named the Monastery of Saints Mary and Maurice, in Höxter-Brenkhausen for their own use and as a cultural and ecumenical centre. Near by, in Borgentreich, the church has purchased some former military barracks and now uses them as a meeting centre, specially for ecumenical, social, cultural and youth activities. There is a little organic farm. Since 1995, Anba Damian is the General Bishop of the Coptic Orthodox Church in Germany.

In Austria, about 5,000 Copts lived in 2004. They have their own church buildings in Vienna, Graz, Klagenfurt and in the Monastery of Saint Antony (Obersiebenbrun, 18 km from Vienna) begun in 2001

(in 2004 with 3 monks). The service of the Coptic Church began in 1976 when Father Yuhanna al-Baramusi arrived (d. 2000). The liturgy is also celebrated in Linz, Innsbruck and Kitzbühl. In 2004, there were seven priests. Since 2000, the bishop is Anba Gabriel.

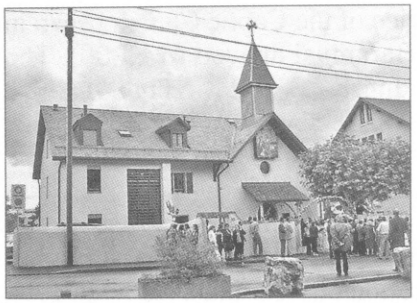
In France, following the campaign of Napoleon in Egypt, some Copts who had formed a Coptic legion to serve him, came and settled in France, mostly in Marseilles. Since 1964, occasional celebrations have taken place. From 1968, a Coptic priest used to come from London for the celebration of the liturgy. Between 1968 and 1972, there were monthly celebrations in the crypt of the Russian Orthodox church (under the Patriarchate of Constantinople) in Rue Daru, Paris. In 1976, a doctor of science in virology, who worked in the Pasteur Institute in Paris, was ordained as priest, Father Girgis Luca. From 1976 until 1989, liturgies were celebrated regularly in the Catholic Church of Saint Sulpice. In 1989, the Church dedicated to the Virgin and Saint Mark was bought in Châtenay-Malabry, in suburban Paris. From 1990 to 1998, the Copts also worshipped in the Catholic parish of Saint Marcel in Paris. In 2004, there were four active parishes near Paris: in Châtenay-Malabry; in Villejuif, in a place bought in 1998, the Church of Archangel Michael and Saint George with two monk priests, the senior one being Father Moussa al-Anba Bishoi; in Deuil-La-Barre (north Paris) and in Collombes. In Marseille, the liturgy has been celebrated regularly since 1990. In 1974, two Europeans were attached to the Coptic Patriarchate, as bishop and assistant bishop, Anba Marcos and Anba Athanasios, responsible for the so-called French Coptic community.



There is a little monastery dedicated to the Virgin and Archangel Michael (in 2005, one monk) with a chapel in Ronchères, near Saint Fargeau, (170 kilometres south-east of Paris).

In Belgium, since 1987, Father Luqa al-Baramusi has been taking care of the Copts, in two parishes in Brussels and Antwerp, (about 40 families).

In Switzerland (about 1,000 Copts), from 1976 to 1983 the



liturgy was celebrated by visiting priests and the Copts used to worship in the crypt of the Greek Orthodox parish of Chambésy, in Geneva. Since 1984, the first appointed priest was a monk, Father Serapion al-Anba Bishoi, (then bishop of 'BLESS' in Cairo, now Bishop of California) who served in Geneva, Lausanne, and Zurich. In 1986, a chapel was rented in Vernier. In 1994, a church, with grounds for a centre, was purchased in Meyrin (Geneva) and in 2004 it was consecrated. From 1985 to 1990 Father Axios al-Anba Bischoi (now Bishop Antony of Ireland and parts of Great Britain) served, followed (1990-1991) by Father Sidrak (now Metropolitan of Jerusalem and Near East). Since 2002 the priest in charge of the French speaking faithful (Geneva, Lausanne, Yverdon) is Father Mika'il Megally living in Geneva. In the German speaking part, services are organized in different places (Zurich, Basel and Biel) by Father Sidrak al-Baramusi. There are some celebrations in the Italian part, in Ticino.

In the Netherlands, the Coptic community has a parish since 1985 in Amsterdam and since 1991 in The Hague. The parish in Amsterdam was organized by Father Arsaniyus al-Baramusi, with a cultural centre since 1997. Other parishes were settled in Eindhoven, Utrecht, Leeuwarden, Assen and Enschede. In 2004, there were about 5,000 Copts and 5 priests.

In Sweden, the first Coptic liturgy took place in 1980. In 1981, the celebrant was a monk, Father Baladius al-Baramusi, who used to celebrate in a Lutheran church. Since 1993, the Copts have their own chuch in Stockholm, dedicated to Saint Mary and Saint Paul; there is another church in Götteborg, with celebrations there since 1984. Meetings are organized in Södertalje, Tensta, Uppland Väsby, Uppsala and Lula. There are more than 1,500 Copts living in Sweden.

In 2003, in Norway, there were three families; in Finland about 15, and about 70 in Denmark where a Coptic monk priest from Germany visits them in Copenhagen from time to time.

In Italy, in 2004, there were two Coptic dioceses and two bishops:

one living in Milan, Anba Kirillos; and the other, Anba Barnaba of the diocese of Turin, residing in Rome. Under the bishop of Milan are 12 parishes in north Italy (including Venice, Brescia, Bergamo, Milan, San Remo). The first parish was established in Milan in 1985. In 1990, land was bought in Lacchiarala (near Mittone, 20 km of Milan), for building the Monastery of Saint Shenouda (in 2004, with 8 monks) which is also a meeting centre for Copts. Under Bishop Barnaba are the following parishes: Rome, (Fiumiccino, Frascati, Velletri), Turin, Florence, Reggio Emilia, Novarra, Cuneo, Reggio Emilia, Bologna and Perruggia.

In Greece, in 1984, Father Bula al-Anba Bishoi was the first priest serving the Copts. He resided in Athens. When he left in 1995 there were about 200 families and 500 single men. A married priest, Father Athanasius Henein, continues the service until now. Since 1995 the liturgy is celebrated in a rented hall. There is a project to build a church on land bought in Minidi, a district of Athens, with the permisssion of the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs. The same Ministry, with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in 2003, gave a formal recognition for the Coptic priest in Greece to celebrate the liturgy and sacraments. In 2004 there were more than 700 families. There are also small communities in Thessaloniki, in Hania (Crete), Paros and Mikonos.

In Cyprus, the presence of Copts was known at least from the end of the 13th century until the 17th century. In 1990, the first Coptic priest was sent, Father Banyamin al-Anba Bula, under whom the church was built in Limasol. Since 1993, there is a second priest in Nicosia where another church has been consecrated. In 2004, there were about 1,000 Copts.

In 2004, Copts were found in other European countries such as: in Hungary, with one priest serving the parish in Budapest; in Romania (about 50 Copts); in Spain, with one priest serving the community of about 100 Copts in Cerbera (about 100 km from Barcelona); and in Malta, where about 20 families were visited by a Coptic priest coming from Libya.

Israel, Palestine and the Near East

The presence of Egyptians is attested in Jerusalem at Pentecost (Acts 2:10). There was a Coptic bishopric in Jerusalem from the 13th

century when Patriarch Cyril III (1235-1243) appointed the first Coptic archbishop in Jerusalem, Anba Basilius I (1238-1260). According to Makarim, there were three Coptic churches in Jerusalem in the early 13th century. In 1837, permission was given to build a Coptic caravansary (*Khan al-Aqbat*), near the Monastery of Saint George. Under Archbishop Theophilus of Jerusalem (1935-1945), a Society for the Promotion of Pilgrimages to Jerusalem was established and several places were built to welcome pilgrims.

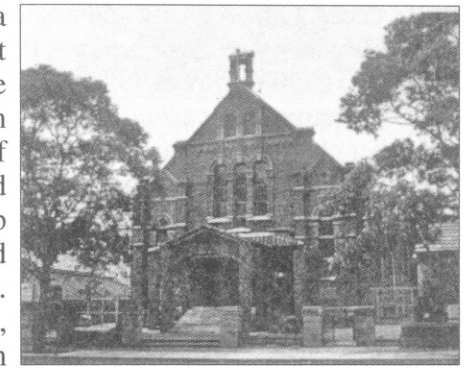
Today in Jerusalem there are: one chapel in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, behind the Holy Tomb; and one church and three chapels in the Coptic Patriarchate, near the Holy Sepulchre. According to the feasts, the Copts also pray in the Church of Bethlehem, in the Church of the Virgin in Gethsemane and in the Chapel of the Ascension. In Israel and Palestine, the Copts have ten monasteries and convents: in the Old City of Jerusalem one convent dedicated to Saint George, near by the Convent of Saint Mary and the Monastery of Saint Antony; in Bethlehem the Monastery of Saint Mary; in Jericho four monasteries; in Nazareth one monastery; and in Jaffa the Monastery of Saint Antony. The Copts claim the original ownership of the Monastery called Dair al-Sultan, situated on top of the Chapel of Saint Helen in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, where some Ethiopian monks are now living; and of the two adjacent chapels. There are two Coptic colleges: Saint Antony's College for boys on the Patriarchate's grounds, and Saint Damiana's College for girls in the Convent of Saint George. A modern college has been built in Beit Hanina, on the way to Ramallah where a church is being built. There are some projects, for old people and for a youth centre. In 2004, there were about 3,000 Copts in the Holy Land.

Since 1991, the Metropolitan of Jerusalem and the Near East is Anba Abraham. He is responsible for all the Copts living in the Near East, not only in Israel and Palestine, but also in Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq, the Gulf countries (Oman, Qatar, Bahrein, Kuwait) and the United Arab Emirates (Dubai, Abu Dhabi and Sharja).

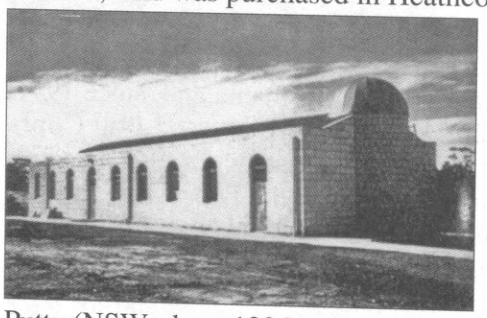
In the Gulf area the first Coptic community was organized in Kuwait in the 1960s. In these countries the Coptic churches are either rented or owned. The number of Copts is not stable for political and economic reasons.

Australia

Since the 1960's, the Copts began to emigrate to Australia, with expansion in the late 1970's. In 1969, Father Mina Nematalla (d. 2000) was sent to Australia, and the Church of Saint Mary and Saint Mina was purchased in 1970 in Sydenham, a suburb of Sydney. In Sydney, another property was purchased in 1978 in Arncliffe to be the headquarters with a cathedral named after Saint Mark. In 1986, there were about 40,000 Copts living in Australia. The Diocese of Melbourne was established with the ordination of Bishop Suriel in 1999. In 2004, it had 21 priests and 16 Churches. This diocese covers Victoria, South Australia, Western Australia, Australian Capital Territory, Tasmania and, since 1997, New Zealand where, in 2004, there were about 5,000 Copts (3 churches and 3 priests in Auckland, Christchurch and Dunedin). In 2002, Bishop Daniel was ordained for the Diocese of Sydney which includes New South Wales, Queensland and Northern Territory. In 2004, there were in this diocese 39 priests and 24 churches. The bishop also ministers as far away as Singapore (since 2002), Thailand and Japan. In 2004, there were about 60,000 Copts in Australia. In the Diocese of Melbourne, there are two schools: Saint Mary's (since 1991) and Saint Anthony's (since 1994) and a Theological College, Saint Athanasius' (since 2001). In Sydney, a theological college was opened in 1982, near the Cathedral of Saint Mark in Arncliffe, with correspondence courses since 1990. Since 1986, it has its own journal, *LOGOS* (quarterly, in English and Arabic). In the suburbs of Sydney, there are three Coptic schools: Saint Mark's (Wattle Grove), Saint Mary and Saint Mina's (Bexley) and Saint Bishoi's (Mount Druitt). In 1989, a committee for Coptic Orthodox Publication and Translation (*COPT*) was formed in Kogarah, another suburb of Sydney, to co-ordinate the translation and publication of books. There is an annual youth convention. Since 1982, *Saint George Youth Magazine* has been published every month in English by



the parish of Saint George in Sydney. In Sydney, there is a weekly church bulletin called *Spring of Love* (English and Arabic). There is a diocesan magazine called *Al-Manara* (English and Arabic); in Melbourne, there is also a diocesan magazine (*Epsajee*). The Pope Shenouda Coptic Centre, with a church, in the suburbs of Long Point, Sydney, has worked since 1989, giving retreats and conferences. Other centres and associations were organized such as *The Anba Abraham Association* (1984) in Sydney which founded *The Child Care Centre* (1992); *The Coptic Youth Centre* in Sydney (1992) renamed *The Coptic Orthodox Youth Association* (2003) and other charitable organizations raising funds to help needy Copts in Egypt. *The Coptic Friends of Africa* help the Coptic mission in Africa. In Hallam (near Melbourne), a Coptic village was built with a kindergarten, a home for elderly persons and a church. In 1983, land was purchased in Heathcote, Victoria (about one and a half hour's drive from Melbourne). There is the Monastery of Saint Antony, as well as a retreat and conference centre opened in 1989. In 1993, a second monastery, dedicated to Saint Shenouda, was opened in Putty (NSW, about 120 km from Sydney). In 2004, there were eight monks in Australia as well as three deaconesses living in Guildford, Sydney. In Australia, all churches have two liturgies on Sunday, one in English and the other in Arabic. The Church is an active member of the National Council of Churches in Australia (NCCA).



Bishop Angelus, who resides in England, says: " In our teaching we try to balance the rich dogmatic, liturgical and spiritual Coptic tradition with the ability to adapt to modern life and what people experience, especially outside Egypt. We want to pass on to them our heritage which can be a spiritual support in their future life. The Church concentates on the Christian education of her young people. The theological colleges equip students not only for the priesthood, but so they can become teachers and instructors within the extensive network of Christian education. The rich spiritual

tradition of the Coptic Church can be of use to many people in the lands of the diaspora. "

When Pope Shenouda consecrated a new church in Geneva in 2004 he said: " We began to establish Coptic churches in many countries outside Egypt. We try to preserve our people in a spiritual atmosphere and help them to keep and understand their religion. "

Chapter 4

Sunday Schools and the Youth Movement

With the blessing of Patriarch Cyril V (1874-1927), his archdeacon Habib Girgis (1876-1951) was the pioneer in introducing Sunday school for religious education, in order to strengthen the Coptic Orthodox children and youth in their faith. Since the middle of the 19th century, the missionaries practised proselytism, especially in Middle Egypt. Habib Girgis was one of the first students in the theological seminary which was opened in 1893. The seminary helped in the revival of the Coptic Church. In 1899, Habib Girgis became a teacher there and, in 1918, he became its principal, until his death. He also preached and taught in different Coptic churches and associations which supported his activities. In 1900, he founded *The Charity Association* (*Gam'ayat al-Mahaba*) the goal of which was Christian education, teaching the Coptic language and the Christian religion.

Concerning Christian education, one should not underestimate the rôle of other Coptic associations. Here are the names of some early ones in Cairo.

The Coptic Association for Education (*Gam'ayat al-Nash'a al-Qibtiya*), which was founded in 1896, had three objectives: teaching Coptic language and encouraging people to learn it, compiling the history of the Copts as well as preaching and teaching the principles of the Christian faith. In 1898, it began to publish the Coptic Calendar which has been published yearly since then. Habib Girgis began teaching in this association in 1898.

In 1900, *The Coptic Faith Central Association* (*Gam'ayat al-Iman al-Qibtiya al-Markaziya*) was founded. It put emphasis on preaching, Bible study and Coptic language.

In 1914, a branch of this association was founded by Girgis Boutros, a future priest, and it became independent, in Shubra, under

the name of *The Coptic Orthodox Faith Association in Geziret Badran* (*Gam'ayat al-Iman al-Qibtiya al-Orthodoxiya fi Geziret Badran*). Among its many activities, such as schools for boys and girls, a clinic, and later a hospital and a pharmacy, they also taught Sunday school in its schools as well as in its church, Saint George's Church in Geziret Badran, and held weekly youth meetings.

In 1908, *The Association of the Friends of the Holy Bible* (*Gam'ayat Asdiqa' al-Kitab al-Muqaddas*) was founded by Basili Boutros and had branches all over Egypt. He was a graduate of the Coptic Seminary who also studied in England for one year where he visited Christian associations. The objectives of the association in Egypt were Bible study and development of spiritual life, especially among youth. Its important activities were the establishment of students' hostels in Cairo and summer camps for young people which included Bible study, worship together, analysis of youth problems as well as examination of religious and social issues. This programme is quite similar to what the youth movement is doing today. Notable leaders of the association were: Ibrahim Luqa who became a priest and founded Saint Mark's Church in Heliopolis; Hafiz Dawoud who became Father Marcos Dawoud (d. 1990) of the Church of Saint Mark in Shubra; and the famous preacher Ayad Ayad.

In 1918, the General Committee for the Administration of the Egyptian Orthodox Sunday Schools (*al-lagna al-'amma li-idarat shu'un madaris al-ahad al-misriya al-orthodoxiya*), headed by Habib Girgis, met for the first time and decided to have branches around Egypt.

In 1927, the Committee published some books to explain the Coptic Orthodox faith. By then, it had 20 branches in Cairo, 44 in Upper Egypt and 18 in Lower Egypt.

In 1941, the General Committee held its Congress in Cairo, in which about 350 Sunday school teachers, representing about 50 branches, participated. Its report states that Sunday schools should be established everywhere, with the support of the Patriarch and under the supervision of the priests. It decided to have a unified curriculum and to have training programmes for the Sunday school teachers.

In 1948, a unified curriculum was prepared and published.

In 1948, the committee was called the 'Higher Committee of

the Coptic Orthodox Sunday Schools' (*al-lagna al'ulya li-shu'un madaris al-ahad al-qibtiya*).

In 1949, a report of the activities was published.

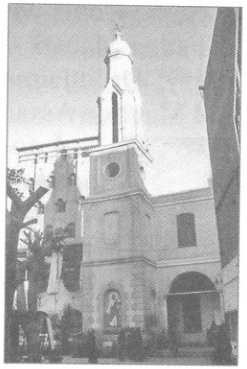
After the death of Habib Girgis (1951), Wahib Attallah, the future Bishop Gregorius, became the General Secretary of the 'Higher Committee'. He was also the head of the Theological Seminary. Bishop Gregorius, a doctor of philosophy in Manchester in 1955, wrote many articles and books on theological issues.

The Sunday Schools' board had an office at the Theological Seminary at Mahmashah, behind Ramses Railway Station. When the Seminary was moved to Abbasiya, in 1953, the Sunday Schools office also moved there. In 1955, the name 'Sunday schools' was changed to 'schools of Church education' (*madaris al-tarbeya al-kanasiya*), (cf *Sunday School Magazine* 9/10, (1955), 6-7).

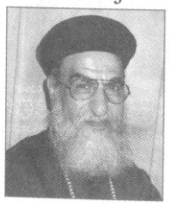
After his consecration, Pope Cyril VI (1959-1971) ordained Bishop Shenouda, the present Pope and Patriarch, as Bishop of Ecclesiastical Education, which included the Seminary and the Sunday schools, in 1962. Since his consecration in 1971, Pope Shenouda has remained the head of Church education.

The Sunday schools played an important part in the revival of the Coptic Church, specially since the 1940s, and much work was organized by students. At that time, a specific important work was done in Saint Mark's Church in Giza, as explained to me by Father Antonios Amin. Born in 1925, he is one of the few remaining witnesses. In 1950, he became a priest, and from 1955, after serving in Fayyum, he has been serving in Saint Mark's Church, in Cleopatra Street in Heliopolis, in Cairo. Since he was a student in the university in Giza, the place of the first university in Cairo, he was very active in the Sunday school in Giza and he has known all the leading figures involved in the Sunday school at that time. He explained to me the following: " From 1948 until 1950, I was the Executive Secretary of the board of the Sunday Schools Committee. At that time, I was in daily contact with Habib Girgis who, as an old man, was sharing his life long experience and who used to say that the Sunday schools

were the future of the Church. He was also a reformer. In his book *Practical Methods for Coptic Reforms: Hopes and Dreams to Be Realised in Ten Years* (*al-Wass' il al-Amaliya lil-Islahat al-Qibtiya, Amal wa-Ahlam Youmkin Tah' qiquha fi Asharat A'wam*, second edition in 1942), he expressed his views for the renewal of the Church and its activities, including catechism. Habib Girgis was a very devoted and spiritual celibate archdeacon and a good preacher. Habib Girgis began Sunday school on a small scale with the distribution of lessons with pictures in a bifold. He also wrote many booklets and books on Church education, spirituality, theology and history of the Coptic Church, as well as religious hymns. In 1904, he founded the magazine *The Vineyard* (*Al-Karma*), dealing with Christian life and education, Church history and theology; the first magazine of this type. He took the Sunday school system from the Protestant missionaries, but he adapted it for the Coptic Orthodox tradition.



The work of Sunday school was greatly developed from the activities in the Church of Saint Mark in Giza, by some students. Saint Mark's was the first church built in Giza in 1887, and was still the only one there in the 1930s. From 1936-37, a student in engineering, Zarif Abdallah, the future Father Boulos Boulos, began Sunday School activities there. He was from Asyut where he had done similar work with Louis Zikri and others before. In Giza, two students joined him: Wahib Zaki, the future Father Salib Surial, and Sa'ad Aziz, the future Bishop Samuel, Bishop of Public, Ecumenical and Social Services. The three became superintendents for the work of the group in Giza, visiting rural areas around Cairo and other places, teaching children and young people. In 1941, a second group participated in the work in Giza and I was one of them. Then, the Sunday school movement spread all over Egypt. This was possible through the teaching of hundreds of university students who founded local groups during their summer holidays and after they finished their studies.



The next stage was for some of the Sunday school teachers to serve the Church full-time as priests or monks. They left their

secular jobs to do so. It was new to have so many university graduates becoming priests and monks, with some becoming bishops later. These were the product of the Sunday School movement. In March 1948, the first to become a married priest was Zarif Abdallah who served in a parish church in Damanhur. Ordained in May 1948, Father Salib Surial remained active in Saint Mark's Church in Giza and he was the professor of canon law in the Seminary. In 1948, the first to become a monk was Sa'ad Aziz, then Father Makari al-Suriani, and later Bishop Samuel. "

The work in the Sunday schools was assisted by the publication of articles, booklets and books written not only by Habib Girgis but also by others, still read today, such as Father Yuhanna Salama (d. 1960), Father Manasa Yuhanna, Ibrahim Luqa, Mikha'il Mina, Father Marcos Dawoud, Deacon Kamal Habib, Bishop Isidorus and Deacon Ramses Nagib.

Some Copts wrote theses on Coptic Christian Education such as Father Macari, the future Bishop Samuel (Princeton University, 1955); Dr Sulaiman Nessim (Ain Shams University, Cairo, 1963) and Maurice Assad, (Columbia University, 1970).

Another work was also important for the development of the Sunday schools, that of Mr Yonan Nakhla. He published Christian books, the first on liturgical prayers, and printed pictures, and in 1938 he opened the first Coptic Orthodox bookshop, called 'Charity Bookshop' (*Maktabat al-Mahaba*), with Christian books, in Geziret Badran Street. His son, Victor Yonan, and his grandsons continue the work. Nowadays the bookshop is at Shubra Street 30.

In Cairo, the work of the Sunday schools developed in districts highly populated with Copts such as Faggala and Shubra, both close to the Old Patriarchate, near Ramses Railway Station. There, several new churches were built since the 1930s, and many future personalities of the Coptic Church have been involved in Sunday school, among them future priests and bishops. Here are some examples.

In Faggala, in the Church of the Virgin built in 1884,

Abd al-Masih Bishara, an English teacher, supervised Sunday school from 1952 until 1957. Before that, he had taught catechism in *The Association of Sunday School* (*Thamaret Madaris al-Ahad*) in Faggala, founded in 1947, of which he was the general secretary and the supervisor of the Sunday school from 1947 until 1957. A graduate from the seminary in 1953, he became the Bishop of Beni Suef from 1962 until he died in 2000, under the name of Athanasius.

In that same Church of the Virgin, from 1953, three brothers of the Sobhi family taught catechism of whom two became priests, Father Raphael Sobhi and Father Mikha'il in Doki; and one a bishop, Dr Magdi Sobhi now Bishop Antonios Markos for African mission. Their cousin also taught, Samih Adly, later Father Samuel, a well-known professor in Coptic archaeology in the Institute of Coptic Studies consecrated as Bishop Samuel in 1993 who died in 2003.

In Hadey al-Koba, near the present Patriarchate, the Church of Dair al-Malak al-Bahari was built in 1894 by Ibrahim Bey Meleka. In 1937, Sunday school was organized by Dr Milad Zaki who wrote spiritual booklets.

In Shubra, the first church to be built was that of the Virgin in Ma'asara (1924). Sunday school was taught there, towards the end of the 1930s, by Sa'ad Allah Kaldas.

The Church of Saint Antony in Shubra was built by *The Shikolany Association* at its foundation (1934). The first priest was Father Petros al-Gohari. Nasir Gayyid, the present Pope Shenouda, was a Sunday school student and then a teacher here in the mid 1940s. Like others, he also taught in other churches, such as in that of the Church of Archangel Michael (*Malak Mikha'il*) at Toson Street. Other young people were involved in Saint Antony's Church in Sunday school: among them some future bishops such as Anba Yuannis of Tanta and Garbeya, Anba Arsenius of Minya, Anba Pachomius of Damanhur and Anba Gregorius who was also active in other parishes, especially in the Churches of Saint George in Geziret Badran and of Malak Mikha'il at Toson Street.

The Church of Saint George in Geziret Badran, in Shubra, was

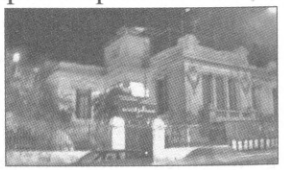
built in 1936 by *The Coptic Orthodox Faith Association in Geziret Badran Street* (*al-Iman al-Qibtiya al-Orthodoxiya fi Geziret Badran*) presided over by the first priest of the church, Father Girgis Boutros. Since 1936, Sunday school was organized by William, Henry and Madeleine al-Khuly and also by Louis Zikri. To that group were affiliated the future Dr Sulaiman Nessim, who wrote on Coptic education and was a contributor to the *Sunday School Magazine*; Dr William Sulaiman Qelada, who wrote important books and articles on Egyptian history, Coptic heritage and national unity, and, for years, the editor of the *Sunday School Magazine*; Milad Hanna, professor at the faculty of engineering; and Maurice Assad, (born 1930), the future associate general secretary of the Middle East Council of Churches from 1974 to 1995.

Since 1938, the parishes of Saint George at Geziret Badran Street and of Malak Mikha'il at Toson Street have published a magazine, *Eternal Life* (*Al-Hayat al-Abadeya*).

In 1937, the Church of Archangel Michael (Malak Mikha'il) at Toson Street began to be built by parishioners along with Father

Girgis Ibrahim; the same year the Sunday school was led by Edward Benjamin (1914-1966).

In 1942, a group of Church servants of Sunday school in Malak Mikha'il at Toson Street, presided over by Edward Benjamin, founded *The Association of the House of Coptic Sunday School* (*Gam'ayat Bait Madaris al-Ahad al-Qibti*). Their objectives were to spread spiritual culture and knowledge of Church history; they also received orphan boys in a villa (70 Road al-Farag Street, in Shubra). Today the orphanage is headed by Moukhtar Faye and Dr Adel Shoukri and it receives ten orphans.



In 1947, the same group, with Edward Benjamin as editor, started there the *Sunday School Magazine* (*Magalat Madaris al-Ahad*). It was the main forum for discussing the views of the different branches. In 1978, they purchased a printing press.

In 1944, Sa'ad Aziz accompanied Hafiz Dawoud, who became director of the newly established Theological School in Addis Ababa, where both taught. In 1949, Edward Benjamin joined them. They began to establish Bible study and Sunday School there until they came back to Egypt: Sa'ad Aziz in 1946; Father Marcos Dawoud in 1954 and Edward Benjamin in 1964. They were helped by other Copts, such as Antun Yaqub Mikh'ail, from 1945.

From 1949, Nasir Gayyid took care of the orphanage and he edited the *Sunday School Magazine* until 1954 when he became a monk. Moukhtar Faye has been its chief editor since 1976.

Still in Shubra, in Saint Menas' Church, built in 1942, Kamal Habib was a Sunday school teacher. In 1975, he became Bishop Bimen of Mallawi (d. 1986).

After the Conference of the Heads of the Oriental Orthodox Churches in 1965 in Addis Ababa, a meeting of the educators of the Oriental Orthodox Churches was held in Cairo in 1970, headed by Bishop Shenouda and Bishop Paulos Gregorios of India. The participants in that meeting worked out the basic outline for an Oriental Orthodox Churches Christian Education Curriculum entitled *The Christian Nurture Series of the Oriental Orthodox Churches.*

In 1973, the Egyptian Ministry of Education formed a new religious education committee which had two sub-committees: one for Islamic Religion and the other for Christian Religion.

The Sunday school material now used in government and private schools is prepared by an ecumenical team of Christian writers. The books must be approved, and are printed, by the Ministry of Education.

The Sunday School curriculum now used in the Coptic Orthodox Church is produced in the Bishopric for Youth.

"Sunday School is the cornerstone in our spiritual life ", said Father Dawoud Lamei of Saint Mark's Church in Cleopatra, a spiritual son of Father Antonios Amin.

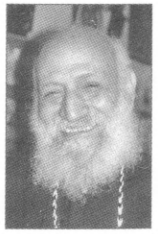
Children can participate from four years old until highschool

level. Children, being the future of the Church, great attention is given to them.

Many town parishes publish magazines and material for children and youth, for example in the Cathedral in Alexandria. Father Antonios Halim, of the Church in Shibin al-Konoter outside Cairo, works with Father Bishoi Sedki, of the Church of Saint Menas in Shubra: they have published sixty-five special books for children (5 to 11) and pamphlets, including for Sunday school, and they make videos. They also organize activities for the children. They also publish a magazine for the children, with articles for the parents to advise them how to raise their children in a Christian way, called *The World of the Child* (*Donya al-Tefl*), (in Arabic, ten issues a year). Bishop Tadros of Port Said is the chief editor.

Bishop Petros, a general bishop, is responsible for a monthly children's magazine *Garden of Flowers* (*Bustan al-Zouhour*), with publications in Arabic and in English (*The Rosegarden*). Bishop Petros also organizes competitions on the Bible for children, through booklets.

Nowadays books by the following authors are much read by Coptic young people: Bishop Mattewos, on liturgy; Dr Adel Halim, on family issues; and Dr Magsi Ishak, on psychology and Christian counselling. Father Tadros Malaty, a priest in Saint George's Church in Sporting, Alexandria, who also visits many Coptic parishes around the world, has a great concern for the youth. He has published many books, with some English translations, on spirituality, especially on exegesis of the Scriptures with many references from the Church Fathers, as well as CD's (in 2004, 35 CD's in Arabic and 5 in English), all published by his parish.



The present youth movement began officially in 1980 with the consecration of Bishop Moussa as bishop for the Youth. He, as a layman, Emile Aziz, trained first in the Church of the Virgin in Faggala as a Sunday

school student and teacher; he graduated in medicine; then he served in Beni Suef with Bishop Athanasius, specially with youth.

Since 1996, Bishop Moussa is assisted by Bishop Raphael, previously a medical doctor, who works more with primary and high school youth. They are helped by four young celibate priests, by twenty-four deaconesses who are in charge of the secretariat, computers, publications and sales, and by other young people working with the two bishops, as well as by many youths all around Egypt.

The work of Bishop Moussa started in a small room in Anba Ruwais, in the Patriarchate, which became a bookshop, still in operation. Then two rooms were given on the first floor of the building of the Seminary: one for the office, and the other now used for the computer training centre and English courses. Some youth meetings take place in the Hall of Anba Samuel, on the ground floor of the Institute of Coptic Studies, under Isaac Fanous' workshop, and in other rooms.

Bishop Moussa explained to me how the youth movement is now organized. His first aim is to assist in the youth meetings as much as possible, in order to feel the concerns and questions of the young people and to try to answer their needs. The second aim is to provide literature. Four magazines are printed: for youth over twenty, *The Message of the Church Youth* (*Risalit al-shabab al-Kanisi*); for youth under twenty, *Branches* (*Akhsan*); for the youth leaders *The Word* (*Al-Kalima*); *Angel* (*Angelus*) is an electronic magazine available on CD's. Special books are printed for the youth leaders. Booklets are printed on the Bible and the Church, on social and spiritual topics, on doctrine, rituals, Church history, Patristics and youth affairs. About ninety booklets are printed every year. Modern technology is now also used for catechism: with websites, computers, videos and CDs, sold for six Egyptian Pounds, less than one US dollar or euro, to study the Bible, to explain the liturgy, etc.

The work considered as most important by Bishop Moussa is leadership training because these teachers will serve the young people. Their Centre is next to Anba Samuel Hall. About two hundred and fifty young people are selected each year by the parish priests, one to five from each parish, mostly from Cairo, but also some from outside. They are trained for three years. They come

for two lectures, on Saturday and on Sunday, to study the Bible, Church history, Patristics, psychology, sociology, management and communication. Outside Cairo, a similar training, lasting two years, is given by correspondence. At the end, after passing exams, they all receive a certificate.

During summer holidays, seminars are organized in a centre by the sea in Al-Agami, (30 km west of Alexandria), where about twenty conventions are organized, each with 200-300 young people: for leaders of rural areas, of primary and secondary schools, of university, and of the graduates. They come from all over Egypt and spend five to six days together, having Bible study, prayers, lectures, group discussions and leisure activities.

The theme of the summer convention is different every year; in 2004 it was: 'Tomorrow's Youth, spirituality and Church, family and society, communication and media'.

There are also summer courses in Cairo attended, one day a week, over two months, by about 2,000 Sunday School teachers who are offered several courses: Old and New Testaments, Patristics, doctrine, ritual, Church history, psychology, sociology, participation in citizenship and politics, culture, economic development, Coptic hymns and language, family education and computer courses.

Another focus of activity are the festivals for youth, that is from twelve to thirty year old, who compete on specific studies like the Bible and Church life, Patristics, Church rites, and also in the areas of computer studies, journalism, art, languages, sports, etc. They also pass exams. At the end they have a festival, each group of age and studies having its own.

During the mid-year vacation, two to three weeks between mid January and February, some two day conventions take place in the dioceses in southern Egypt and in the Canal zone, with a 20-25 strong mobile team covering five dioceses at the same time, and with the two bishops visiting every place, that is 23 to 25 dioceses in about ten-twelve days. The Delta area is visited in winter. Thousands of young people take part.

There are ecumenical groups with monthly meetings, on the first

Monday, in Anba Samuel Hall, composed of ten Coptic Orthodox, five Protestants, five Catholics, one Greek Orthodox and one Episcopal Protestant.

Youth conventions also take place in the lands of emigration, with a yearly convention in different areas in the main countries (United States, Canada, Australia) for two to three days, in two groups, below and above 18-25 years old. There is a yearly European convention held in a different country every year.

Scouts have activities and serve the Church, especially during pilgrimages and festivals. They have sport activities with some competions.

In the 'citizenship participation group', young Copts are encouraged to participate as active citizens in social and political life. For the courses, Muslim thinkers, politicians and writers are invited for debates, about social and also political life. There is also a monthly meeting, on the first Friday of the month, in Anba Samuel Hall, to which Egyptian thinkers, Muslims and Christians, are invited. Many professors of university come and help and speak to the Coptic youth.

There is another group for economic development who think about how to generate income for the young people, how to create small enterprises, and how to obtain loans, as it is difficult to find a job nowadays in Egypt.

Bishop Moussa concluded by saying: "We want to help our youth to have integrated Christian personalities, taking care not only of their spiritual life, by praying, taking communion, and serving the Church, but also of their intellect: by knowing the world around, by having plans for the future, by knowing the social, philosophical and political currents. The youth must also learn how to deal with psychology, how to handle their temper and emotions, as well as to learn how to communicate and socialize, that is to control oneself in thought and action. "

Before university level, boys and girls meet separately. Groups of university students meet according to their faculty, weekly, in specific parishes. Everywhere where there is a university, the Coptic Church has built hostels to host Coptic girls and boys studying in large cities, away from their families.

Even if the Sunday school programmes and youth activities are

organized as well as possible and so intensively, I heard Pope Shenouda repeat that Sunday school cannot teach everything to the children and youth who spend only a few hours a week in church; but that the best catechesis must be experienced within the family itself, by daily Christian teaching and example at home.

Chapter 5

Languages, Literature and Studies

1) Coptic, Greek and Arabic

The Coptic language comes from Ancient Egyptian; it can be considered to be the last stage of the evolution of that ancient language. It is expressed in all the letters taken from the Greek alphabet, with some seven supplementary signs taken from the Demotic (the next-to-last stage of the written Pharaonic Egyptian language), to represent sounds not existing in Greek. Many words are borrowed from Greek.

The two main Coptic dialects are: Sahidic (in Upper and Middle Egypt) and Bohairic (in Lower Egypt and the Delta). Sahidic and Bohairic were spoken in their regions until about the 11th century. Then they gradually disappeared from about the 14th century. Some witnesses mention that some Copts were still speaking Coptic in the following centuries, such as Maqrizi in the 15th century and Vansleb in the 17th. A few Copts try to speak Coptic even today.

It must not be forgotten that, from the time of Alexander and the Ptolemies (332-30 B.C.), the Greek language was used in Egypt, especially by the administration and the scholars.

Throughout the Byzantine period in Egypt (4th to 7th cent.), Greek continued to be the official and cultural language; it was written and spoken, not only in Alexandria, but also in the rest of the country, by administrators of the Byzantine Empire living in Egypt and also by Egyptians. Greek was still used after the Arab conquest (7th cent.).

Arabic was imposed, by an edict in 705, as the administrative language in Egypt. Arabic was gradually adopted by the Copts, which explains the decline of Coptic. From the beginning of the 12th century, many bi-lingual manuscripts (Coptic-Arabic) are to be found, mostly liturgical texts.

Concerning the liturgical life, in Alexandria, the Eucharistic Liturgy was first celebrated in Greek. It was then adapted and translated into the two main dialects, Sahidic and Bohairic. The first

liturgical texts were also borrowed from Greek. According to Burmester, the translation of liturgical texts from Greek into Coptic did not begin before the 6th century. In the 12th century, Bohairic became the main liturgical language of the Church. Down to the present day, some Greek words have been kept in the Coptic prayers as well as some prayers in Greek such as some festive hymns (*troparia*) and the Prayer 'Only-Begotten' (*Monogenes*).

2) Coptic Manuscripts

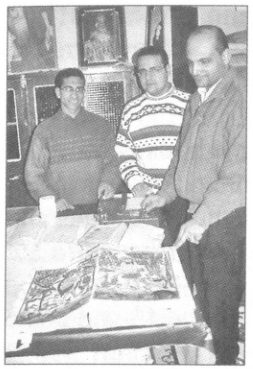
The most ancient manuscripts that have been preserved are of books of the Old Testament. They can be assigned to the end of the 3rd and the 4th centuries (for example Ms. Bodmer VI, in Sahidic). One of the most ancient preserved manuscripts of the Gospel dates from about the same period (Ms. Bodmer III, in Bohairic). They testify to the diffusion of the Gospel around Egypt, in the Delta and in the Nile Valley.

The present Bohairic version of the New Testament used by the Coptic Church is a version re-worked in the 10th century. There is no recent edition of the New Testament in Coptic. There are two editions with English translations made by Horner at the beginning of the 20th century.

In Egypt, manuscripts in Coptic and Arabic are to be found in several places: in the Coptic Museum, in the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (*IFAO*); in the Patriarchate, all these in Cairo; and in the ancient Coptic Orthodox monasteries and churches; some are in the Greek Orthodox Monastery of Saint Catherine on Sinai.

From the 15th century onwards many manuscripts have been brought out of Egypt, for example by Vansleb (17th cent.) for the Royal Library in Paris (now in the Bibliothèque Nationale), by the two Assemani (18th cent.) for the Vatican Library in Rome and by Tattam (19th cent.) for the British Museum in London.

Manuscripts are also found in other libraries, such as: France (Paris, Strasbourg), Great Britain (Oxford, Manchester, Cambridge), Ireland (Dublin), Italy (Venice, Naples, Turin), Germany (Berlin, Leipzig, Munich), Austria (Vienna), the Netherlands (Leiden), Switzerland (Geneva), Russia (Saint Petersburg, Moscow), the United States (New York, Michigan, Washington, Yale).



A great number of these collections are not yet fully catalogued. There is a centre in the Monastery of Saint Menas near Alexandria, founded in 1985, for the restoration of manuscripts, which are then kept on microfilm.

3) Coptic Literature

Coptic literature is mostly centred on matters related to the Church. There are few secular works. It includes works written in Greek, Coptic and Arabic.

The first Christian literature written in Egypt was in Greek.

In around 180, the great Catechetical School (called the *Didaskaleion)* opened in Alexandria. Among the most famous heads and teachers were Pantaenus, Clement, Origen, Heracles, Dionysius and Didymus the Blind who was responsible for the school until the end of the 4th century. The Church Fathers of Alexandria, such as Athanasius (275-373) and Cyril (376-444) wrote their works in Greek, the intellectual language of their time.

Other works by Church Fathers of the Byzantine and Syriac traditions are found in the Coptic literature. They include writings by Saints Basil, John Chrysostom, Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory of Nazianzus and Gregory of Nyssa (from the Greek), and from Saint Ephrem the Syrian (Syriac texts but through Greek into Coptic). Most of these patristic writings, as well as Lives of the saints and martyrs, also works concerning Church councils and canons, written by Christians outside Egypt, were translated into Coptic from the 4th or 5th centuries.

The Coptic literature that has been preserved until now is probably only a small part of the known literary output. Some of the lost Coptic works can be found in translation (such as in Greek, Arabic or Ethiopian). Some lost original texts in Greek are preserved in Coptic.

Literature written in Coptic is found from the end of the 3rd century to about the 10th century, with some exceptions for grammatical, liturgical and other texts, for example *The Triadon* from the 14th century.

The first texts in Coptic are translations of some books of the Old and New Testaments as well as of the Church Fathers, of some *Lives* of martyrs and saints, of the *Festal Letters* by the Patriarchs and of some of the *Apophthegmata Patrum*. The *Apophthegmata* are spiritual sayings of the Desert Fathers, which were first circulated orally before being collected, in the second half of the 4th and in the 5th centuries.

Contemporary scholars still seek to know what was written originally in Coptic or in Greek. Some say that the oldest works written in Coptic are by Saint Pachomius (d. 346) and his followers (*Rules*, *Letters*). Some *Letters* are attributed to Saint Antony (d. 356).

In the 4th and 5th centuries, Saint Shenute (about 346-465), the most important author of original literature in Coptic, wrote *Canons* (with some *Rules*, letters and sermons for the monks), as well as *Discourses* (with theological texts, spiritual advice and sermons to a non-monastic audience). His *Life* was written by his successor, Besa.

Some scholars think that, between the 7th century and the 9th, some theological and exegetical works, commentaries, homilies and panegyrics were written in Coptic by Patriarchs (Benjamin I, Agathon, John III, Mark II), by bishops (Menas of Nikiu, Zachariah of Sakha), and by others. *Lives* were written of some bishops (i.e. Pisentius of Coptos), and of the great monks (Abraham of Faw, Moses of Abydos, Matthew the Poor, Samuel of Qalamun).

4) Coptic Authors in Arabic, Publications and Centres

From the 9th century, different books of the Bible in Arabic were circulating in Egypt. For the Old Testament, Copts used the translation by Rabbi Sa'id of Fayyum (10th cent.). The first translation of the Gospels by Copts into Arabic was made in the 13th century by As'ad Ibn al-Assal.

According to Severus Ibn al-Muqaffa (10th cent.), many Copts were already unable to understand Coptic in his time. So, from the 10th century, the Copts continued to produce literature, though it was written for the most part in Arabic. Let us note that some of the Coptic literature is preserved only in Arabic translation.

The 13th century is seen as a renaissance and a golden age, followed by a decline after the 14th century.

The Copts produced the most important of the Arabic literature written by Christians in the Middle Ages.

Under Patriarch Gabriel II (12th cent.), the Liturgy was translated from Coptic into Arabic. Græco-Arabic and Copto-Arabic liturgical manuscripts from the 13th and 14th centuries are known.

In 1625, a translation of the New Testament called *The Vulgate of Alexandria* was printed in Arabic in Leiden. In 1671, the whole Bible (Old and New Testaments) was printed in Arabic and Latin in Rome.

In the 10th century, Severus Ibn al-Muqaffa, Bishop of Ashmunain, was the first great Coptic author who wrote books in Arabic, a large output of twenty-six books on various subjects: Church history, dogma, Patristics, the Bible, apologetics and spirituality.

Like him, the following authors were specialists in different fields, in fact in more fields than those presented here. This output will now be summarised according to themes, naming only the best-known writers with a few of their most famous works.

To know more about the Coptic authors and their works, one should refer to the *Coptic Encyclopedia* and to the *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* by Georg Graf, and to other bibliographies.

Important dogmatic theological works were written by: Al-Wadih Ibn Raga (10th cent.), Abd al-Masih al-Isra'ili (11th cent.), Simon Ibn Kalil (12th cent.), Peter Severus al-Gamil, Bishop of Malig (13th cent.), Peter of Sadamant (13th cent.), Abu Shakir Ibn al-Rahib (13th cent.), Al-Safi Ibn al-Assal (13th cent.) and his brother

Al-Mu'taman, Al-Rashid Ibn al-Tayyib (13th cent.), Paul of Bush (12-13th cent.), Michael, Bishop of Atrib (13-14th cent.), John Ibn Sawirus (14th cent.), George al-Makin Ibn al-Amid (14th cent.), Yusab, Bishop of Girga and Akhmim (18-19th cent.); there is an anonymous anthology *The Confession of the Fathers* (11th cent.).

Patristic commentaries, or exegeses, were produced by: Mark Ibn al-Qunbar (end 12th cent.), the three brothers Ibn al-Assal (13th cent.), Abu Shakir Ibn al-Rahib, Peter of Sadamant (13th cent.), Ibn Katib Qaysar (13th cent.), as well as Paul of Bush, Bishop of Misr near Old Cairo (12-13th cent.).

In spirituality, the main author is Simon Ibn Kalil (end 12-13th cent.), a monk in Scetis, who wrote *The Garden of the Solitary* and *Consolation of the Hermit*. Other works are: the *Commentary of the Pentateuch* by Mark Ibn al-Qunbar, a Treatise on the Virtues by Peter of Sadamanti (13th cent.), a work on Confession by Patriarch Cyril Ibn Laqlaq (13th cent.) and a Treatise on Ethics by John Ibn Sawirus (14th cent.).

Famous homilies or sermons have been preserved by: Paul of Bush, John of Qalyubi (13-14th cent.), and specially by al-Safi and al-Mu'taman Ibn al-Assal and Abu al-Barakat Ibn Kabar.

Several Copts are seen as encyclopaedists of the religious sciences, as they gathered much of the knowledge of their time.

In the 13th century, two of the brothers Assal were famous writers on different subjects, such as theology, exegesis, philosophy, liturgy, canon law and philology. Al-Safi's works include religious tradition and canon law as well as translations of the Church Fathers, from the Greek, and of great apologetic works. Al-Mu'taman abu Ishaq's main work is an encyclopaedia in seventy chapters and a theological work of reference, *The Principles of Christianity*. Abu Shakir Ibn al-Rahib (13th cent.), who was a theologian, historian and linguist, can be considered as another encyclopaedist.

At the end of the 13th century, John Ibn Sabba wrote another kind of encyclopaedia: *The Book of the Precious Pearl* in 113 chapters dealing with the doctrines, liturgy, canon law and customs of the Coptic Church.

Abu al-Barakat Ibn Kabar (14th cent.) is the last of the great writers of the Middle Ages. His famous work is *The Lamp in the Darkness* which is the largest encyclopaedia, in 24 chapters, on

theology, canon law and specially on liturgy and Coptic customs; he also wrote on history and linguistics.

Church History is compiled in different books among which are: *The Chronicle* by John of Nikiu (7th cent.), which has been preserved only in an Ethiopian version; *The History of the Patriarchs*, attributed for years to Severus Ibn al-Muqaffa, which was completed in the 13th century and was published in Latin in Paris in 1713 by E. Renaudot. In the 13th century we also find: *The Book of Histories* by Abu Shakir Peter Ibn al-Rahib, as well as Ibn al-Suqa'i's work and *The Historical Chronicle* by George Ibn al-Amid (13th cent.). In the 14th century we find *The Mameluks' Chronicle* by Mufaddal Ibn Abi al-Fada'il. The Coptic priest Abu al-Makarim (12-13th cent.) is now recognized as the author of *The History of Churches and Monasteries*, earlier ascribed to Abu Salih the Armenian (d. early 13th cent.). The Muslim Maqrizi (1364-1442) wrote a historical study of importance for the Copts.

Linguistic works, including grammars followed by lexicons, were prepared by John of Samannud (13th cent.) and improved by Al-As'ad Ibn al-Assal, Mu'taman Ibn al-Assal (13th cent.), Abu Shakir Ibn al-Rahib (d. end 13th cent.) and Athanasius, Bishop of Qus (14th cent.). These lexicons of Copto-Arabic vocabulary or 'word lists', called *scalae*, can be regarded as the first dictionaries. They were prepared in order to preserve the knowledge of Coptic. The most famous one was prepared by Abu al-Barakat Ibn Kabar (14th cent.).

In the Middle Ages, many Church canons were produced, such as those by: Patriarchs Christodoulus (11th cent.), Cyril II (11th cent.), Macarius (12th cent.), Gabriel II (12th cent.) and Cyril III (13th cent.), as well as by Michael, Metropolitan of Damietta (d. early 13th cent.), Faragallah of Akhmim (around 1300), and by the priest Macarius (14th cent.). The most important is the *Nomocanon* by al-Safi Ibn al-Assal which was approved by the Coptic Synod of 1238 and still is the reference book of Coptic ecclesiastical law; it was also adopted by the Ethiopian Church (*Fetha Nagast*) and adapted in the 18th century for the use of the Maronites.

In the liturgical field, the first compilation of *The Lives of the Saints* (*Synaxarion*) in Arabic is attributed to Peter Severus al-Gamil, Bishop of Malig (13th cent.), which was elaborated by his

successor, Michael (13th cent.). According to Coptic tradition, the *Holy Week Lectionary* was compiled by Patriarch Gabriel II (1131-45) and later revised by Peter, Bishop of Bahnasa (15th cent.) who added a number of short homilies or exhortations. Gabriel V (1409-1427) gave liturgical rubrics (*tartib*). *The Order of Priesthood* was written by an anonymous hand (end 13th cent.). Important in liturgical studies are the two works already mentioned, *The Book of the Precious Pearl* by Ibn Sabba and *The Lamp in the Darkness* by Abu al-Barakat Ibn Kabar.

Works in Arabic were also written on medicine, astronomy and other subjects.

Most of the Christian Arabic literature of the Copts is still unpublished.

Concerning Christian Arabic publications including the Coptic tradition, there are six main collections: *Patrologia Orientalis*; *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*; after 1980, Father Samir Khalil has begun the publication of Arabic Christian texts in a collection called *Patrimoine Arabe Chrétien* (Arabic, some French); *Patrimonio Cuturale Arabo Cristiano* in Torino, Italy (Arabic, Italian); *Recherches de l'ILO* (Beirut); and *Al-Fikr al-Arabi al-Masihi* in Beirut (Arabic).

There are six reviews: *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* (Rome); *Le Muséon* (Louvain); *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* (Cairo); since 1986, *Parole d'Orient* (Kaslik, Lebanon) has been concentrating on Arab Christian thought; since 1997, the *Bulletin d'Arabe Chrétien/Newsletter of Christian Arabic Studies* is being published by Professors Teule and Van Rompay (the last two with some annual bibliography, respectively from 1976 and 1987); since 2004, a new journal is being published in Cordoba, Spain, *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia*.

The three most important current reviews in Arabic are: *Al-Mashrek* in Beirut; *Al-Masarra* and *Al-Manara* both in Jounieh, Lebanon.

International Conferences in Arabic Studies take place every four years, at the same time and in the same place as the *Symposium Syriacum.*

The three most important centres for Christian Arabic Studies are: the Centre of Documentation and Research on Arab Christianity (CEDRAC) in Beirut, a department of the Saint Joseph University which documents 4,500 microfilmed Christian Arabic manuscripts

and more than 25,000 books, founded in 1991 by Father Samir Khalil; the Pontificio Istituto Orientale in Rome; and the Catholic University of America in Washington (Department of Christian Oriental Studies).

5) Coptic Studies

The Coptic studies include not only language and literature, but also Church history and monasticism, as well as art and archaeology.

a) Coptic Studies

Some of the precursors of Coptic studies were Obicini (d. 1632), de Peiresc (17th cent.), Kircher (who published the first book with movable Coptic type in 1636 in Rome), Zoega (18th cent.), Mingarelli (18th cent.) and Champollion (d. 1832) who studied Coptic with a Coptic priest in Paris, Father Yuhanna Chiftichi. Thanks to Coptic, Champollion was able to decipher the Egyptian hieroglyphics (1822).

In the 17th century, a Christian Egyptian, Yusuf Abu Daqn, wrote a *History of the Copts* (printed in Latin in 1675, and translated into English by Sadleir in 1693). From 1603 to 1630, he taught Arabic in European cities (Leuven, Leyden).

The History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria was published in Latin in 1713 in Paris by Renaudot who also published a *Collection of Oriental Liturgies* (1716). In 1716, Wilkins published the New Testament in Bohairic in Oxford, and in 1731 the *Pentateuch* in Bohairic in London.

Raphael Tukhi (1701-1787) taught Coptic in Rome; he also printed Coptic liturgical books (with Arabic translation), he translated parts of the Old Testament and he published a grammar (1778). The first systematic Coptic grammar was written by Bonjour (1699). A grammar prepared by Scholtz was published by Woide (1778). The first scientific grammars came out in the 19th century: by Stern (1880) for Sahidic and Bohairic; and by Steindorff (1894) for Sahidic. Dictionaries were also prepared: the first by Kircher (1643) translated from Abu al-Barakat; and others by Lacroze and Scholtz (1775), Peyron (1835) and Tattam (1853).

The first Arabic-French dictionary was produced in 1805 with the participation of Elias Buqtur, a Copt who taught at the Ecole Royale des Langues Orientales in Paris.

From the end of the 19th century, some Egyptologists also published works on the Coptic world, such as Maspéro (d. 1916),

Gayet (d. 1916) and Amélineau (d. 1915).

From the end of the 19th century and in the 20th, Coptic studies were developed by Maspéro in Paris; by Erman (d. 1937) in Berlin as well as by Budge (d. 1934) in the British Museum.

In the first half of the 20th century, some people have continued to promote Coptic studies through their works such as: von Lemm (d. 1918), Crum (d. 1944), Steindorff (d. 1951), Lefort (d. 1959) and Leipoldt (d. 1965).

Grammars were written, such as by Mallon (1904), Guidi (1924), Till (1931), Plumley (1948), Orlandi (1970), Vergote (1973), as well as by Polotsky (1987-1990) and Layton (2000).

The Coptic Dictionary by Crum (1939, reprinted 2000) remains the best reference dictionary (Coptic/English); it was completed in 1964 by Kasser. In 1977, Westendorf has adapted and developed the dictionary written by Spiegelberg in 1921 (Coptic/German).

Some Coptic scholars of the 20th century should be named such as Iqladius Labib, Yassa Abd al-Masih, Murad Kamil, Togo Mina, Pahor Labib, Sami Gabra, George Sobhy and Gawdat Gabra.

Father Samuel al-Syriani (then Bishop Samuel, d. 2003), who taught Coptic architecture in the Institute of Coptic Studies, published some material. Aziz Attiya was the chief editor of the *Coptic Encyclopedia* (1991).

Among intellectual women, let us name Iris Al-Masri (d. 1994) who was teaching in the Institute of Coptic Studies and writing on Church History; and Xeres Wissa Wassef, a writer and lecturer in Paris.

b) Bibliographies

The first Coptic bibliography was by Kammerer, *A Coptic Bibliography*, (1950, reprint New York, 1969). Some bibliographies can be found in *Studia Orientalia Christiana Collectanea*; in *Orientalia*, in *Enchoria* and, of course, in the *Coptic Encyclopedia* (1991), which includes around 2,500 articles on Coptic history, culture and life. In Egypt, *The Encyclopedia of Coptic Heritage* (*Mawsou'at min Terath al-Qibt*, edited by *Dar al-Qiddis Yuhanna Al-Habib Lil-Nashr*), is published by Copts (in Arabic, 2005, in six volumes, about 2,250 pages).

There is a data base of the *Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari* (*CMCL*), directed by Tito Orlandi, which not only includes

a bibliography of Coptic studies, but also shows: a list of some authors and works of Coptic literature (with information on manuscripts, content and critical problems); a list of Coptic manuscripts/codices; electronic editions of some Coptic texts with Italian translation; a chronological description of the development of Coptic literature; a computerised grammar of Sahidic. Up to now, the texts have been in Italian and English. The consultation is under subscription (http://rmcisadu.let.uniroma1.it/cgi-bin/cmcl). Some libraries are subscribers.

c) Conferences

Since 1976, the *International Association for Coptic Studies* (*IACS*) has organized eight international congresses, every four years. They issue a Newsletter.

The first *International Congress of Coptic Studies* took place in Cairo in 1976; and so will the 9th in 2008.

The first *International Congress of Christian Arabic Studies* (including studies of the Coptic tradition) took place in Goslar in 1980.

The Acts of these congresses are published, as well as those of other Coptic conferences (for example in Halle, Germany). Since 1982, the French speaking *Association de Coptologie*, based in Paris, has been organising a three-day meeting (*Journées d'Etudes Coptes*), with publications (*Cahiers de la Bibliothèque Copte*).

Coptology is also included in Associations and Societies such as of Papyrology, Egyptology, Nubian Studies, Biblical Literature and Patrology.

d) Printing Press, Newspapers and Media

Patriarch Cyril IV (1854-61) installed the first printing press in the Coptic Patriarchate and it still has its own. Since 1965, the weekly official magazine of the Coptic Church, *Preaching* (*Al-Keraza*, in Arabic weekly, and in English, appearing irregularly) has been providing information and issues on and of the Coptic Church in Egypt and elsewhere. Since the beginning, its chief editor has been Pope Shenouda.

Some current Coptic magazines are: *The Holy Bible's Friends* (*Asdiqa al-Kitab al-Muqaddas*, since 1908), *The Awakening* (*Al-Yakaza*, since 1924), *Charity* (*Al-Mahaba*, since 1924), *The Sunday School Magazine* (*Madaris al-Ahad*, since 1947), *Saint Mark* (since 1958).

Others are published by Coptic associations and a few individuals (in Egypt and outside). For example, in the U.S., a magazine *The Copts*, published by the lay American Coptic Association, writes on culture and mostly on politics (twice a year, English and Arabic).

Some Coptic magazines have ceased publication, such as: *Al-Tawfiq* (1896-1960), *Zion* (1900-42), *Al-Karma* (1904-31), *Al-Manara al-Marqusia* (1912-15), and *Al-Manara al-Masria* (1928-53).

Since the end of the 19th century, the Coptic press has been alive with: *Al-Watan* (1877-1931) and *Misr* (1895-1966). *Watani*, founded in 1958, is a Coptic newspaper which now includes articles on Church issues and Coptic heritage and culture (weekly, in Arabic and English).

Under Pope Cyril VI, Christmas and Easter midnight Liturgies were broadcast on the radio. Nowadays the transmission of the Liturgies of these two feast days is broadcast on television, up to the sermon after the reading of the Gospel, followed by official greetings to the Patriarch; and in full on the radio. Nile TV, the cultural channel, broadcasts the Liturgy every Sunday, also until after the sermon. On Egyptian radio and television, there are occasional cultural programmes on the Copts and their Church, as well as some interviews with the Patriarch, bishops and priests. Since 1995, there has been a satellite ecumenical channel for Christians in the Middle East (in Arabic), SAT 7, which includes some programmes on the Coptic Orthodox Church.

There is a wide choice of Coptic tapes, CDs and videos, which are prepared in Egypt and abroad, as well as some websites.

e) Studies in Universities and Schools

In the 18th century, a Coptic College was opened in Rome to train Coptic Catholic clergy.

Nowadays, outside Egypt, Coptic language, literature and studies are taught in several universities, such as in France (Paris), Germany (Munster), Italy (Rome), Switzerland (Geneva), the United States (Yale, Washington, Los Angeles), Quebec (Laval), Russia (Orthodox Theological University of Saint Tikhon, Moscow) and Australia (Sydney).

In Egypt, Coptic studies have been taught since 2003 in the American University in Cairo, but very little is done at the level of the state universities.

In the 19th century, some Copts urged others to study and use the Coptic language, such as Iryan Girgis Muftah (d. 1888) and Iqladius Labib (d. 1918).

In 1896, the objectives of *The Coptic Association for Education* (*Gam'ayat al-Nash'ah al-Qibtiya*), at Harat al-Saqqy'in in Cairo, were to teach the Coptic language and compile a history of the Copts.

Nowadays, Coptic courses are organized by the Coptic Church: in the Institute of Coptic Studies (in the Patriarchate, in Cairo), in Coptic theological seminaries and branches around Egypt, in parishes, Sunday Schools and youth meetings, in Egypt and abroad. An Institute of Coptic Language for Modern Pronunciation is open for amateurs (in the seminary building in Cairo).

In the Institute of Coptic Studies, there are two professors, Dr Kamal Farid Isaac and Father Sama'an Butrus. They teach grammar, text-translation, in Sahidic and mostly in Bohairic, the liturgical language. As a trial to revitalise the Coptic language, they have some conversation lessons, in the Bohairic dialect, with the so-called modern pronunciation introduced under Pope Cyril IV (1854-1861) when a committee suggested a certain pronunciation based on modern Greek pronunciation, which is also until now the official pronunciation used by the Coptic Church.

Some Copts discuss how to pronounce Coptic. Dr Kamal Farid Isaac opts for a pronunciation based on how the Greeks pronounced their Greek letters in the 3rd century. Dr Emil Maher (now Father Shenouda, living in the United States) suggested a 'Græco-Bohairic' pronunciation, and in 1976 he opened in the Patriarchate an Institute for 'the Old Authentic Bohairic Pronunciation'.

There is the Remenkimi group (www.geocities.com/remenkimi), gathering people around the world who are interested in reviving the Coptic language. Among other things, they provide Coptic lessons and send each other e-mails, and they chat in the Coptic language (paltalk rooms).

Some Coptic websites provide lessons in the study of Coptic (e.g. Saint George's Coptic Orthodox Church in Bellflower, California, United States, www.ourworldcompuserve.com).

In Egypt, Bishop Demetrius of Mallawi teaches Coptic in the seminary in the Monastery of Muharraq and in the theological school in Minya. His hope is that the young people should be able to

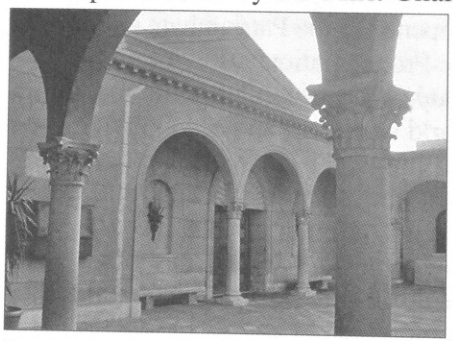
understand Coptic as much as possible. He also encourages people to use Coptic in some of their writing and even in speaking. Since 1998, in a school which was opened in 1910 in al-Barsha village (30km, on the east bank near Mallawi), he has re-organized the curriculum and Coptic language and music are now taught there. The school has about 1,000 students from 6 to 14 years old. There is a plan to build a similar school in the village of Dair al-Malak (5km from Mallawi).

In Mallawi, in the bishopric, just before Nayruz, that is before the day of the beginning of the liturgical year in September, there is a yearly week-long festival of the Coptic language, during which the deacons from every church of the diocese sing hymns. Children participate with some songs and plays or sketches in Coptic.

Bishop Demetrius has written many booklets to teach Coptic, even for young children. Some are translated into English. There is also a website being prepared in Mallawi to teach Coptic.

f) Associations/Societies/Institutes/Centres, Publications (Reviews/Journals/Bulletins) and Conferences for Coptic Studies and Culture in Egypt and outside Egypt

In Egypt, in Cairo, the *Association des Amis des Eglises et de l'Art Copte* was founded in 1936 for Coptic studies by Mr Mirit Ghali, who remained the president until his death (1992). In 1938, it took the name of the *Société d'Archéologie Copte* (*SAC*). The present president is Mr Wassef Boutros Ghali. A lecture is given there every first Monday of the month, except in the summer. Dr Burmester has been a collaborator and its librarian. Another librarian was Dr Khater. Since 1936, a scholarly Bulletin has been published (*Bulletin de l'Association des Amis des Eglises et de l'Art Coptes*) which has continued from 1938 until now with another name (*Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte*). The *SAC* also published *Textes et Documents*, *Fouilles*, *Bibliothèque de la SAC*, *Bibliothèque de Manuscrits* and *Divers*.



Also in Cairo are the *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Egypte* (*ASA*). The *Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* (*IFAO*) in Cairo has several publications on Copts: *Bulletin* (*BIFAO*), *Mémoires* (*MIFAO*), *Bibliothèque d'Etudes Coptes* and *Fouilles*.

Several other Institutes in Cairo (directed by different countries such as Germany, the Netherlands, Poland, Italy, Switzerland, Russia, the United States) have also dealt – or are dealing – with Coptic archaeology and studies, with publications.

The *Centre d'Etudes et de Documentation Economique, Juridique et Sociale* (*CEDEJ*) in Cairo published a few articles on the Copts in its review *Egypte Monde Arabe* (published from 1990 onwards) and in a series called *Dossiers du CEDEJ* (published from 1981).

In Cairo, there were published: *Les Cahiers Coptes* (from 1952 to 1957); the *Mélanges de l'Institut dominicain d'études coptes* (from 1954 to 1989); *Studia Orientalia* (from 1956) renamed *Studia Orientalia Christiana*, under the Franciscan Centre (today with *Collectanea* and *Monographiae*).

The Institute of Coptic Studies has published a few issues of *Bulletin* (1958, 1975, 2002).

In Alexandria, *The Society of Saint Menas for Coptic studies* (*Gam'ayat Mar Mina al-Agayibi*) was founded in 1945 by Banub Habachi. They organize lectures and produce some publications on the Copts. From 1947, they have published *Risalet Mar Mina* (in Arabic). Since 2004, they have been publishing *Rhakoti* (three times a year, mostly in Arabic with some English).

Outside Egypt, some well-known collections and all Christian Oriental reviews include articles on Coptic studies (see my bibliography).

The Journal of Coptic Studies (Louvain, 1990 onwards) was founded by the *International Association for Coptic Studies* (*IACS*).

In Switzerland (Geneva), a collection (*Cahiers d'Orientalisme*) including titles on Coptic studies, was begun in 1991 by Enzo Lucchesi, edited by Patrick Cramer. In Germany, *Enchoria* is a scholarly journal for Demotic and Coptology (Wiesbaden, 1971 onwards).

For a wider public, the review *Kemet* publishes regular articles on the Copts (Berlin, 1995 onwards), and so does, in France, *Le Monde Copte* (from 1977, now in Limoges).

In North America, in the U.S., the *Coptic Church Review*, on contemporary patristic studies, was edited by Rodolph Yanney (d. 2005) since 1980 (quarterly).

In Canada, in 1981, *Coptologia*, a Journal of Coptic Thought and Orthodox Spirituality, was founded by Dr Fayek Ishak.

The two main Coptic associations for Coptic studies outside Egypt are in the United States. *The Saint Shenouda the Archimandrite Coptic Society* was founded in 1979 by Mr Hany Takla and deals with Coptic language and studies. It is still run by Mr Takla, who is collecting Coptic texts and microfilm at their library in Los Angeles, California. Since 1992, the work of the society has been run from the *Saint Shenouda Centre for Coptic Studies* in Los Angeles. Since 1997, a two-day conference has been organized every year in the University of California, in Los Angeles, with publications. Its website (www.stshenouda.com) offers a manual of Coptic studies and lessons, with a CD, and a list of publications. Between 1984 and 2001, the society published a *Bulletin of the Saint Shenouda the Archimandrite Coptic Society*. Since 2002, it co-publishes with the *Saint Mark Foundation* an annual journal in English, *Coptica*, dedicated to scholarly articles relating to the various branches of Coptic studies, and also co-organizes conferences with the Foundation.

In 1998, the *Saint Mark Foundation* for Coptic History Studies, with its base in Cleveland, Ohio, was founded in 1998 by Dr Fawzi Estafanous. The Foundation seeks to preserve Coptic history and heritage, and to publish books on such topics. Since 2002, they have also co-organized international conferences in Egypt every two years (published in *Coptica*). Since 1998, there has been an annual newsletter. They have an office in Cairo, in the Patriarchate (in the building of the Institute of Coptic Studies, ground floor left), headed by Mr Fahim Wassef. Gawdat Gabra, the previous director of the Coptic Museum in Cairo, is now chief editor for the publications of the Foundation. In 2004, they had published four books (three in Arabic and one in English).

There are some foundations for Coptic studies, such as the Krause Stiftung (Germany) and the Atiya Foundation (United States).

Let us now name some Coptic centres in Cairo.

The Patristic Centre in Cairo (*PCC*), (*Al-Markaz al-Orthodoxi le al-derasa' at al-Abaiya*), was officially opened in 1991. Dr Noss'hi Abd al-Shahid Butrus, the founder, is the director of the centre and in 2005, one researcher, Joseph Faltas, was general secretary. A professor of Greek in Cairo University, Dr Samuel Kamal Abd Sayed, a Copt, helped to send Coptic Orthodox students to Greece. Contacts took place with the Greek Orthodox Archbishop Damianos of Sinai, who organized, in 1980, the first scholarships from the Greek Ministry of the Exterior for Coptic students to go to Greece in order to study theology and Patristics. Then some also studied in Germany and England. Now five of them, after finishing their PhD, are working as researchers in the Centre. Translation is the main work of the Institute. At the end of 2004, they had published eighty-four translations from Greek texts. There are three types of publications: text-books of translations, patristic studies and a *Magazine for Patristics and Theological Studies* (*Derassa' at Aba' iya wa Lahouteya*) twice a year, in Arabic. Among the other activities, there are monthly lectures on Patristic topics (the first Monday of the month); a two year course for Patristic studies; an annual three-day conference in a retreat house outside Cairo; conferences in different dioceses, and for youth groups and in the Bishopric for Youth; some afternoon meetings for Sunday School teachers (one topic and four lectures) focused on Patristics, liturgical life and the life of the Church (two afternoons every three months).

A publishing house, *Philopatron* (*Lovers of the Church Fathers*), was founded in 1991, with the aim of studying and publishing the writings of the Church Fathers, especially those of Alexandria. In 2004, ten books and ten booklets have been published, all in Arabic and one also in English. They organize three to four yearly conferences in Cairo and in Egypt generally; they have two centres with some patristic courses.

In 1998, *The Coptic Heritage Lovers Society* (*Mohebbi al-Tourath*

al-Qibti) was founded by Sami Mitri (chairman) in Cairo. The aim is to increase awareness of the Coptic heritage and culture among a large public of both Christians and Muslims in Egypt and abroad. It organizes lectures, conferences, concerts of Coptic music, art exhibitions, cultural visits and a yearly three-day conference.

In Cairo, two scholarly meetings take place. Since 1992, Father Mina Azer and Dr Ramez Boutros have been organising an annual *Coptic Week Conference* on Coptic studies at the Church of the Virgin in Rod al-Farag in Shubra, Cairo. The papers are published in Arabic.

An ecumenical group, *Friends of the Arabic Christian Heritage*, organizes a yearly two-day seminar and a monthly meeting in the Collège de la Sainte Famille, run by the Jesuits in Cairo, on Christian Arabic literature (with a few publications in Arabic).

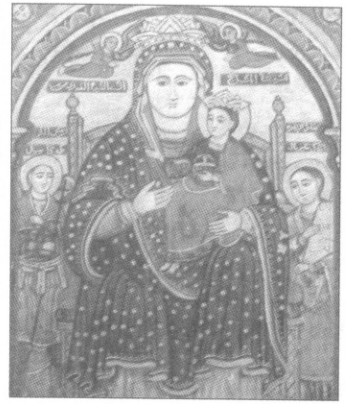
g) Travellers

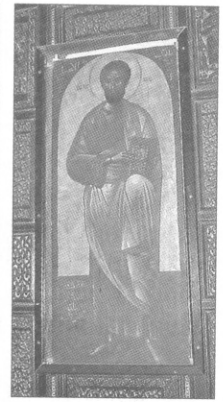
The first publication mentioning Copts is by Breydenbach, *Travels in the Holy Land* (Mainz, 1486). Among the many travellers and scholars who wrote accounts which include descriptions of the life of the Copts and of the Coptic Church, let us name: Vansleb, Huntington, Thévenot, Coppin (17th cent.); Sicard, Volney, Granger, Pococke, Sonnini (18th cent.); Curzon, Jullien, Wilkinson, Lane and Lane-Poole (19th cent.). The writings by western travellers in Egypt are being published by the IFAO in Cairo (*Collection des Voyageurs Occidentaux en Egypte*).

h) Art

Ancient Coptic textiles are well known. Some ancient wall paintings date from the 6-8th centuries (such as in Bawit and Saqqara). The oldest preserved icons are of the same period. There are illuminations of the 9-10th centuries preserved. The iconography includes people and scenes of the Old and New Testaments, of Christ, the Virgin and the saints and, of course, of the Cross. Coptic art and iconography were also influenced by the Byzantine and other traditions. Some icons found in the Coptic churches and monasteries were painted by Greek Orthodox and Armenian painters. Among the most beautiful ancient icons preserved in Egypt are those of the churches

in Old Cairo and of the Coptic Museum (Metro Station Mari Girgis). Nowadays, Isaac Fanous (born 1919), who studied with Leonid Uspensky in Paris, has developed a 'modern' Coptic iconography.

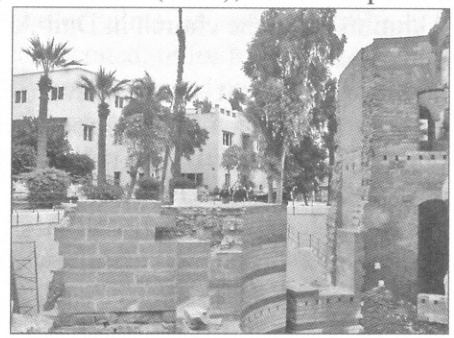




In 1908, the Coptic Museum in Old Cairo was founded by Murqus Simayka Pasha (1864-1908) and it became a National Museum in 1931. In 1889, Albert Gayet published a study of the Coptic collection in the Bulaq Museum (Cairo). Coptic archaeological finds from Gayet and Maspéro were presented at the Paris *Exposition Universelle* (1900).

In the early 20th century, well-known Coptic archaeological studies and publications, are those, among others, by Clédat (1904), Evelyn-White (1932-3) and Quibbel (1908-12).

Among the main museums with Coptic collections (objects, icons, fabrics) let us name (in alphabetic order): Benaki (Athens), the British Museum (London), the Coptic Museum (Cairo), the Græco-Roman Museum (Alexandria), the Louvre (Paris), the Metropolitan Museum (New York); Musées Royaux (Brussels), Museo Egizio (Turin), Riksmuseum (Leiden), the State Museum (Berlin) and the Walters Art Gallery (Baltimore, USA).



Recently, some small private Coptic museums have been organized, such as in Toronto (Canada) and in Europe.

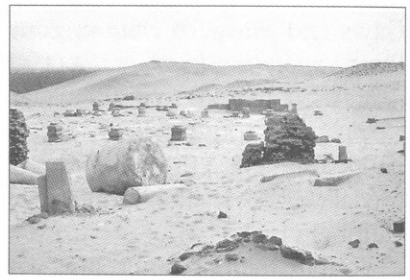
Chapter 6

Liturgical Life

Liturgical life is an important component of the spiritual life of the Copts. It is described here as it is celebrated today in the Coptic Church and with the words used by the Copts.

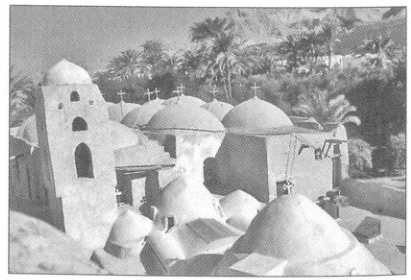
1) Description of Church Buildings

Some of the first churches were installed in transformed Pharaonic places (for example in Dandara, Luxor, Karnak, Idfu). Some archaeological remains of ancient churches are found all around Egypt.

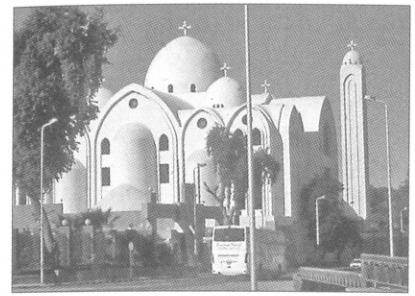


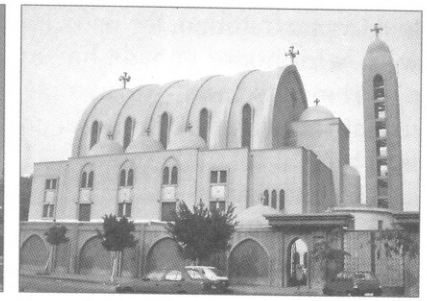
The early church plan is that of a basilica to which alterations may have been added.

Elongated churches (that is with oblong naves) can be found, with many altars, such as in some churches in the monasteries in Akhmim, or in the church in Dair Anba Bidaba near Nag Hammadi with nine altars.



Many ancient roofs have several domes. The internal roof of some ancient churches (e.g. al-Mu'allaqa in Old Cairo) is vaulted: Yuhanna Ibn Zacharia Ibn Sabba (14th cent.) explains in *The Book of the Precious Pearl* that the dome of the church has





to be vaulted like Noah's Ark, the ship of salvation, from the waters of the Flood.

Most of the modern churches are still in the shape of a basilica with a main central altar and, very often, with two other altars on each side. The liturgy can be celebrated only once a day on the same altar.

The medieval features, kept until the 19th century, divide the church in several parts: sanctuary area (*haikal*), nave, with sometimes a vestibule (*narthex*) and, in some ancient churches only, a special room (*khurus*) for the clergy, in front of the sanctuary.

The choir and reading place for the servers, subdeacons, readers and psalmists (*mua'llim*, pl. *mua'llimin*), is in front of the sanctuary, outside. In the choir, there are two lecterns: one (north), for the readings in Coptic; and the other (south) for readings in Arabic or the vernacular language outside Egypt. In the monasteries, there are two other types of long lecterns, on each side of the entrance to the sanctuary, to hold the prayer books of the monks.

The choir is separated from the sanctuary by a carved wooden screen (*hijab*). The sanctuary entrances may have doors and are hung with curtains (*sitr*) embroidered mostly with crosses, but also with figures of Christ, of the Virgin and of saints, according to the name of the saint to whom the altar is consecrated; or for feasts like Nativity, Easter, or for the Holy Week. The icons are found on top of the screen (in ancient and modern churches), on the screen or on the sides of the sanctuary doors (in modern churches); and also on walls around the church where wall paintings may also be found. On icons and paintings are represented the main Christian feasts as well as Christ, the Virgin, saints and martyrs and some biblical scenes.

Small lamps may be suspended in front of icons as well as ostrich eggs, in the church and over the sanctuary entrance. According

to a Coptic tradition, the ostrich is remarkable for the ceaseless care with which she guards her eggs until their eclosion, so the egg reminds the faithful that their thoughts should be fixed irremovably on their spiritual and eternal life, and also that God is watching us all the time.

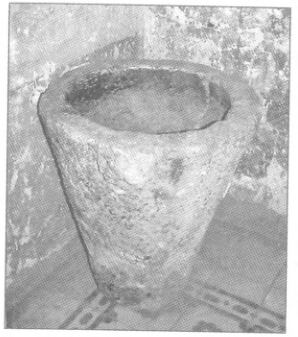
The altar today usually is a marble stone on which are printed the Greek letters alpha and omega; it stands in the middle of the sanctuary. It is consecrated with holy oil (*myron*). Sometimes the altar is upheld with four pillars and a baldaquin over it, both in ancient and modern churches.

The cubical wooden box, or chalice throne, standing on the altar is called the 'ark' (*kursi al-kas*): it has a round hole at the top and in it is put the chalice during the Eucharist till the time for

communion. Its four or more sides are usually decorated with pictures, traditionally including that of the Last Supper.

After the liturgy, on the altar cloth are laid the Gospel, a hand-cross, an incense box and two candlesticks, at each eastern corner, as well as the Eucharistic vessels put in a linen bundle behind the box. The vessels include the following items: chalice, spoon with a long handle, paten or flat circular dish, asterisk or star (*nigm*) consisting of two half-hoops which are set over the consecrated bread put on the paten.

In some ancient churches, as in Old Cairo and in ancient monasteries, one may find two little windows (*taqah*) which, some say, were used for giving communion in the past. In the nave, east, there may be a marble (or wooden in less ancient churches) pulpit



(*anbil*) for preaching. A sunk small basin may be found in the nave (west) for the foot washing on Holy Thursday, on the feast of the Apostles Saints Peter and Paul and for the Service of the Blessing of Water on the Epiphany. Today a movable basin is used.

According to some archaeologists (cf *Coptic Encyclopedia*), the baptistery was generally found in the northeastern part of the church, but also in other places. Today, it is also found in different places.

Also in some ancient churches, on the eastern wall of the sanctuary, there may be a kind of stepped tribune with a throne for the bishop and seats for the clergy, but it is no longer in use.

In the Cathedral of Saint Mark in Anba Ruwais, Cairo, an armchair is put for the Patriarch on the north side, outside the sanctuary. Similar seats are found in other churches for the Patriarch if present, or for the bishops.

Men usually stay on the northern side and women on the southern one. The galleries used to be reserved for women. Benches are nowadays used in the churches. In the monasteries, all may sit on carpets.

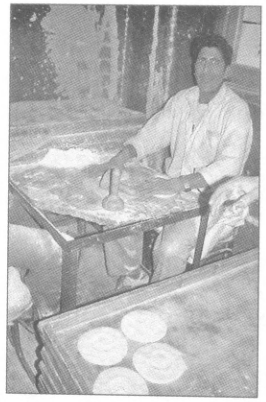
2) Liturgical and ecclesiastical vestments

The deacons wear a long white tunic (*tuniah*) and on top the red belt or orarion (called by Copts *batrachil*). The priests wear a long-sleeved white tunic (*tuniah*); and the *sudrah*, similar to the Greek Byzantine *epitrachelion*. Parish priests usually wear a kind of cloth mitre (*tailasan*), or a *shamlah*, a broad strip of white linen or silk embroidered with crosses; monastic priests replace their black hood (*qalanswa*) by a white one, on the top of which they may wear a *tailasan* or a *shamlah*; and the Patriarch and the bishops replace their black type of turbans (*emma*) with white ones or with crowns, but they may celebrate simply with a white hood, like the monk priests.

The ordinary daily clothes of priests and bishops are black. On Good Friday, from the Sixth Hour until the end of the offices, the priests wear a black *sudrah* and deacons wear a black *batrachil*. Before entering the sanctuary, all men put off their shoes; before entering the monastic churches, all people do likewise.

3) The Eucharistic Liturgy

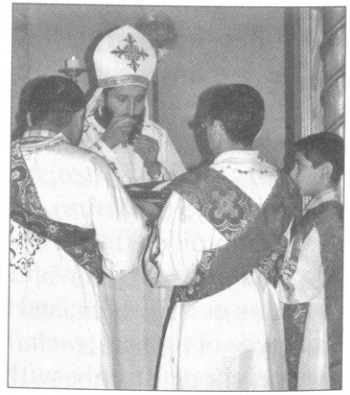
Eucharistic bread (*qurban*) must be leavened; it is prepared by deacons, before the liturgy, in a room near the church called *bethlehem*.



It is stamped with twelve small crosses symbolising the Apostles. The four central crosses symbolize Christ (*ispadikon*, Arabic deformation of the Greek word *despotikon*): this is put in the chalice and reserved for the communion of the celebrant priest. The rest of the bread is for the communion of others: priests, deacons and faithful. The loaf is pierced by five holes to symbolize Christ's wounds, the three nails, the crown of thorns and the spear. The eucharistic wine is usually prepared in the monasteries.

The liturgy is preceeded by the Morning Offering of Incense, as well as the Evening Offering of Incense on the previous evening.

Then the liturgical vessels are prepared on the altar, with the chalice standing in the box.

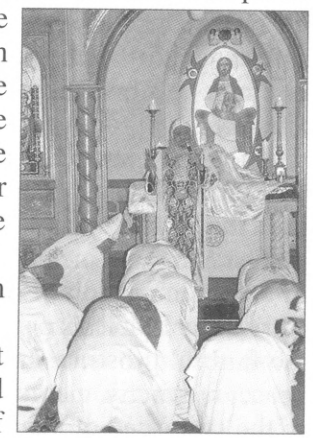


After the prayers of preparation and thanksgiving and the washing of the hands, the celebrant priest goes to the door of the sanctuary; where, outside, one deacon or more stand with a lit candle, holding wine and water.

The celebrant priest smells the wine and makes the assistant deacons do likewise, to check its standard quality. A non celebrant priest (if any), otherwise a deacon, brings to

the celebrant priest an uneven number of eucharist breads (*hamal*) in a basket, minimum of three, up to eleven. The priest looks at them in order to choose one without defect like the biblical Passover 'lamb' (Ex. 12:5) which will be consecrated, to become the Body of Christ; he wipes it with a white veil (*lifafa*) and he blesses it by making the sign of the cross with his thumb that touched the wine, and he does likewise on the other breads.

Inside the sanctuary, facing the altar, the priest rubs the bread with water, as an analogy with the baptism of Christ; then he wraps it in the veil and holds it up over his head to proclaim that this is the Lamb of God, the Saviour of the world; and he presents it in front of the faithful (Mt. 5:15) who prostrate. A procession takes place around the altar with the priest holding the bread in front of his forehead; another priest or a deacon carrying the wine; and another deacon carrying water. They, followed by all the deacons, go with tapers and thuribles. During this procession, the priest sings: " Glory and honour to the All-Holy Trinity... " and makes the commemorations: " Remember, O Lord, those who have brought unto You these gifts... ." The priest blesses the bread with the cross and he puts it on the paten, then he puts the wine into the chalice, with some water. The priest places two little veils: one upon the chalice and another one on the metallic dome which covers the eucharistic bread; finally he covers the paten and chalice with a large veil (*prosforin*) which symbolizes the stone closing Christ's tomb, with a smaller folded veil on top in the shape of a triangle (cf the 'seal' of Pilate, Matt. 27:66).



And the so-called 'Prayer of Absolution to the Son' is recited.

Then all the priests and deacons present go outside the sanctuary and prostrate, and the faithful do likewise, for the 'Prayer of

the Absolution of the servants' recited by the bishop, if present, or the highest priest present or, if no other priest is present, the celebrant priest himself.

During the Prayer of Incense, the priest waves the censer over the bread and wine and he walks around the altar swinging the censer, and he does same around the church and towards the people in the church.

The readings take place: from an Epistle of Saint Paul (*Bulus*); a Catholic Epistle (*Katolikon)*, followed by a song to the festival period, or to the Virgin and sometimes to the saints in whose name the church is consecrated or to the saint of the day; from the Acts of the Apostles; and, finally, the life of the saint of the day from the *Synaxarion*.

The people sing the 'Trisagion Hymn' ('Holy, Holy, Holy…') before the Gospel reading. And, just before the reading, a Psalm verse is sung. The deacon orders the people to stand. Two deacons stand each side with a lit candle while the Gospel is read. The 'Prayer of the Veil' is recited inaudibly by the priest.

A sermon may follow. After this, the priest prostrates in front of the faithful and of the altar, and he enters the sanctuary and kisses the altar.

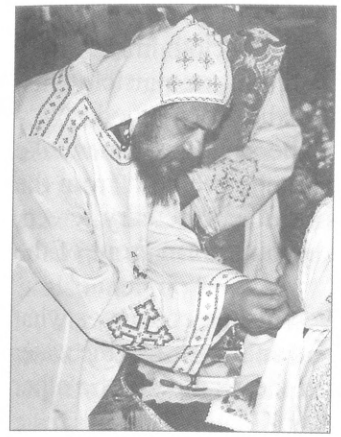
The Creed is recited by all, while the priest washes his hands and shakes the water from his hands to show that he is innocent of the unworthiness of people who might take communion.

He recites the 'Prayer of Reconciliation', finishing with the invitation to the people to greet one another with a holy kiss: people salute each other by touching each other's hands and then by kissing one's own fingers with the mouth; this is done from rank to rank.

The priest puts off the veil covering the holy gifts.

Then begins the Anaphora, that is the text of the eucharistic prayer until the 'Our Father'.

The Anaphora includes the Institution of the Meal; the Anamnesis or commemoration of the Death, Resurrection and Ascension of Christ; the Epiclesis or invocation of the Holy Spirit, during which the faithful prostrate and which is followed by many litanies (for peace, hierarchy, clergy, faithful, etc), and by the commemoration of the saints and of the departed.



When the faithful say the 'Our Father', they stand, stretch out hands and look upwards.

The 'Our Father' is followed by the 'Prayers of Inclination' and by the Communion of the faithful, during which Psalm 150 is sung.

Then the priest gives the blessing to the faithful, first with an aspersion of water taken from a ewer, while going around the church; then with the final blessing and the distribution of blessed breads not used during the liturgy.

During the liturgy, faithful and clergy prostrate to the ground five times: after the choosing and blessing of the eucharist bread; during the Absolution of the servants, during the Invocation of the Holy Spirit; before and during the Fraction of the Bread (while a specific prayer according to the liturgical calendar is said by the priest); and during the Confession of Faith before communion (Amen, I believe…).

Candles are lit: after the choosing and blessing of the eucharist bread, during the reading of the Gospel, during the invocation of the Holy Spirit and during the Confession of Faith before communion ('Amen, I believe…').

There is a censing outside the sanctuary during the Epistle of Saint Paul, during the Acts of the Apostles, at the prayer before the Gospel and during the Gospel. The two main censings inside the sanctuary take place when the priest says 'Christ was incarnate', just after the Trisagion; and after the commemoration of the saints and departed.

During the Prayer of the Fraction of the Bread, done with his hand, the priest breaks the housel (*qurban*) into five portions; he arranges them on the paten in the form of a cross, leaving the *ispadikon* unbroken in the centre, used for the communion of the celebrant priest only; and the rest is broken into small pieces.

The clergy communicate; then communion is distributed to the deacons, to the men and afterwards to the women. In a first time, the Holy Body is given by the priest who puts it directly into the mouth of the communicant; in a second time, the Holy Blood is

given also by the priest from the chalice with the spoon. The communicant covers his or her mouth with a small cloth immediately after receiving the Holy Bread, to make sure that no particle falls, and he or she drinks some water after taking the Holy Blood.

When there are spaces on the sides of the sanctuary, men take communion in the northern space and women receive it from the southern space; or they take it just in front of the sanctuary screen, north and south. All may also receive communion in front of the central sanctuary.

When the priest washes the liturgical vessels, he consumes what is left in the chalice and paten, he rinses them and he drinks the water and he can give of this rinsing water, from the chalice to the other priests, and to the deacons from the paten.

At the end of the liturgy, the sanctuary curtain and door are closed.

Liturgies are celebrated at night for Christmas, Epiphany and Easter.

The liturgy is sung with direct participation of the faithful.

4) Anaphoras

Patriarch Gabriel II Ibn Turaik (1131-1145) reduced the number of anaphoras to the present three. The most used anaphora is that of Saint Basil. The two other anaphoras are that of Saint Cyril; and that of Saint Gregory of Nazianzen used mostly for the Nativity, Epiphany, Easter and Pentecost. The three anaphoras can also be used at any time.

5) The Main Liturgical Books

The priestly *Euchologion* (*Khulagi*) includes the Evening and Morning Offerings of Incense, the two services being very similar; the Eucharistic prayer with the three anaphoras; the prayers which are chanted aloud, those which are said inaudibly, as well as the related rubrics which pertain to the priest, and variable prayers such as the prayers of the Fraction of the Bread.

The deacon's book or *The Services of the Deacon* (*Khidmat al-Shammas*) has its proper parts.

The *Lectionary* (*Katameros*), for the readings, is in four parts: the Yearly Lectionary, with two books for daily and Sunday readings; the Lenten Lectionary which normally includes the four days of Jonah's fast and Lent of seven weeks, excluding Holy Week, and quite often the Saturday and Sunday before Lent;

the Holy Week Lectionary, for each day; and the Lectionary for Easter time (from Easter to Pentecost).

The *Synaxarion* holds the lives of the saints.

The Book of Hours or *Horologion* (*Agbiya*) has the seven daily canonical Prayers of the Hours, with Psalms, prayers and even Scriptural Lessons and Gospels, and hymns such as one for the Virgin (*Theotokion*, pl. *Theotokia*). The *Prayer of the Veil* (*salat al-sitar*) used in monasteries only, between Compline and Midnight Prayer, is also included.

There are two Psalmody Books (*Tasbeha*): one for the Advent month, for the preparation of Christmas, called *Psalmody of Kiyahk*; and the main one for the rest of the year. They include different hymns such as: four biblical songs of praise or odes (*hos*) based on readings from the Bible (Ex. 15, 1-21; Ps. 136; Dan. 3,52-58; Ps. 148, 149 and 150); hymns to the Mother of God (*Theotokia*), of a different kind than the hymns used in the *Horologion*, with a specific one for each day of the week; as well as some other prayers such as praises or doxologies, intercessions, the Creed and the 'Trisagion', and other hymns such as *psali*, *lobsh*, *tarh*. The *psali* are metrical hymns, with twenty-six to forty-six stanzas and may have a refrain. The *lobsh* is a four-line stanza hymn on a biblical theme. The *tarh* (pl. *turuhat*) usually is a paraphrase of the preceding *hos*, *Theotokia* or Gospel reading.

There is another collection of hymns, the *Antiphonary* (*Difnar*), to commemorate feasts or the saints for each day.

There are specific books for the Holy Week.

The Book of Services (*al-Khadamat*) includes the six following offices: baptism, confirmation, betrothal, marriage, as well as the unction of the sick and the funerals.

Another book is used for prayer over the basin (in Arabic, *laqan*), the *Book for the Sanctification of Water* (*kodas al-laqan*) with three different prayers (for Epiphany, Holy Thursday and Feast of the Apostles) which usually includes the kneeling prayers (*al-sagda*) of Pentecost.

The Book of the bishop contains the prayers for the ordinations and consecrations (*risamat wa tadshin*): ordinations of clergy and all the consecrations: of churches, of baptistery, of holy chrism (*myron*), of liturgical vessels, altar, icons and of the oil of the catechumens (*ghalilaon*).

6) Daily Services

Daily offices, or Hours, are recited completely in the monasteries. Every Hour reminds of a special event of Christ's life, such as the Crucifixion at the Sixth Hour.

In the parishes, on non fasting days, the Third and Sixth Hours are recited after the Morning Offering of Incense, before the liturgy; on fasting days, the Ninth Hour is added; and during Lent and the three fasting days of Jonah, the Eleventh and Twelth Hours are added as well. Faithful may recite the Hours at home.

The Psalmody is recited every day in the monasteries; and, in parishes, on the previous evening and in the morning before the Eucharist.

7) Church Music

The chanting of the psalmists (*mua'llimin*) and of the congregation is at certain times accompanied by clashing small cymbals and metal triangles.

The singing can last for a time on a single syllable that is as a vocalise or *melisma*.

The melody types (*lahn*, pl. *alhan*) are somewhat similar to Byzantine tones (*echos*); the two most prescribed are *Adam* (used the three days from Sunday through Tuesday and on other specified days) and *Batos* or *Vatos* (usually used on the other days of the week, and for Holy Week).

There are five melody types: for ordinary days and Sundays (*sanawi*); for the month before Christmas (*kiyakhi*); for the Great Lent and the Fast of Jonah (*siyami*); for the two feasts of the Cross and the Palm Sunday (*sha'anini*); for the fourteen Lord's feasts and the time between Easter until Pentecost, as well as from the beginning of the Coptic year until the feast of the Cross in the month of Tut (*feray'hi*).

Ernest Newlandsmith, with the help of Ragheb Muftah, was the first to annotate the Coptic Church music.

8) The Liturgical Year: Feasts of Christ and of the Virgin

Copts say that, in memory of the persecution and killing of many Christians under the Roman Emperor Diocletian, the Coptic Calendar

begins in 284, the year of the beginning of the reign of Diocletian called 'Era of the Martyrs'. So, to be able to convert from that calendar to our Gregorian Calendar, add 284 years. Add only 283 if the date falls between September and December, as the Coptic year begins in September, with the month of Tut: 1 Tut is September 11, or 12 on Leap Year.

The division of the year as well as the names of the Coptic months go back to Pharaonic times. The Coptic year is divided into thirteen months: twelve months with thirty days, and one month with five days (or six if Leap Year).

The Coptic months are in Coptic/Arabic: Tho'out/Tut; Paopi/Baba; Athor/Hatur; Khoyak/Kiyahk; Tobi/Tuba; Mekhir/Amshir; Phamenoth/Baramhat; Pharmouthi/Baramuda; Pakhon/Bashans; Paoni/Ba'una; Epep/Abib; Mesori/Misra; Pikouji en-Abot/Nasi or *Shahr al-Saghir* (the 'little' month).

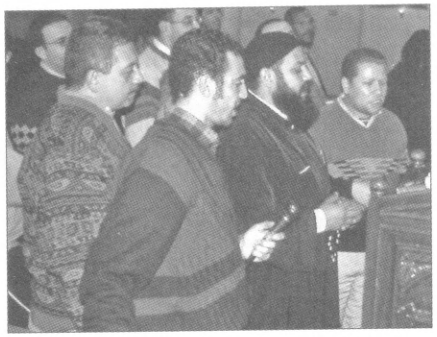
The major feasts of Christ are seven: Nativity (January 7/Kiyahk 29), Epiphany or Baptism of Jesus (January 19/Tuba 11), Annunciation or Feast of the Incarnation (April 7/Baramhat 29), Palm Sunday, Easter, Ascension and Pentecost.

The minor feasts are also seven: Circumcision of the Lord (January 14/Tuba 6), the First Miracle at the Marriage Feast at Cana of Galilee (January 21/Tuba 13), Presentation of Jesus in the Temple (February 15/Amshir 8), Maundy Thursday, Thomas Sunday (the first Sunday after Easter), the Flight or Entry of the Holy Family into Egypt (June 1/Bashans 24) and the Transfiguration (August 19/Misra 13).

There are two feasts of the Cross: one (September 27/Tut 17) for the Discovery of the Cross in 326 by Queen Helen, the mother of Byzantine Emperor Constantine who built the Church of the Cross in Jerusalem in the 4th century, and the Consecration of the Church; and the second one (March 19/ Baramhat 10) when King Heraclius brought the Cross back from Persia to Constantinople in 628. These two explanations are given in the present Coptic *Synaxarion*. There are also other explanations.

For the feast of the Cross, only in a few villages, now a procession tours them before ending at the Nile into which a cross made of palm leaves is thrown.

For the Day of the beginning of the Coptic New Year, called *Nayruz* (11 or 12 September in Leap Year), the reading at the

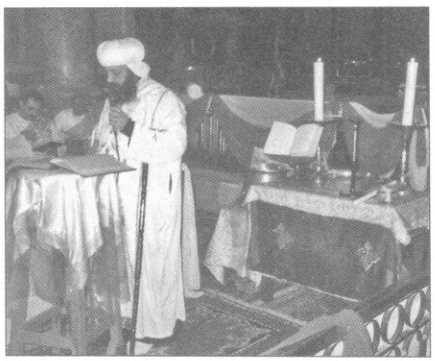


liturgy (Luke 4:14-30) is a proclaiming of the Good News and of a year full of grace. For the feast, a frequent hymn is: 'Bless the crown of the year by Your Goodness, O Lord'.

Throughout the Advent time, (or Kiyahk month, from December 10 until Christmas) are repeated special hymns and prayers to honour the Virgin 'Mother of God' (*Theotokos*), to prepare for the Nativity of Christ, that is the mystery of Incarnation. The prayers of Kiyahk are made in the monasteries, daily; and in all the parishes, mainly on Saturday evening until dawn, but possibly also on other days; they are followed by the liturgy.

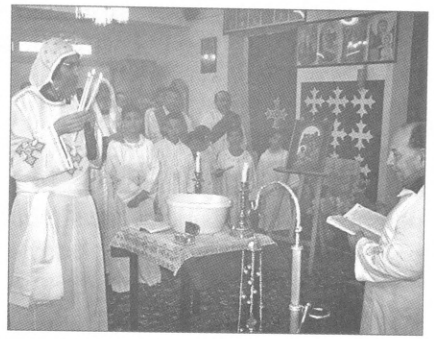
For Nativity or Christmas (January 7/Kiyahk 29), one of the hymns, corresponding to the Greek Byzantine troparion, is: "Today the Virgin gives birth to Him who is above all being, and the earth offers a cave to Him who is out of reach; Angels with Shepherds give Him glory; Wise men journey with a star, for to us there has been born a little Child who is God before the ages. "

For the feast of Epiphany, on the eve, the prayer of the blessing of the waters (*laqan*) is made at the conclusion of the Psalmody of the Midnight Office (main readings: I Cor.10:1-13; Ps. 113:3-5; Mat. 3:1-17), over a basin placed in the middle of the nave or closer to the sanctuary. In the past, Epiphany used to be celebrated by the Nile river.



The priest signs the water three times with the cross. At the end of the service (before the liturgy, during the singing of Psalm 150), the bishop or priest takes a white cloth dipped into the blessed water and makes the sign of the Cross with it on the forehead, neck and inside the two wrists of the clergy and of the congregation. People take water home as a blessing. The main readings for the liturgy are: Titus 2:11-3:7; I John 5:5-20; Acts 18:24-19:6; Ps. 117:25-27; and John 1:18-34.

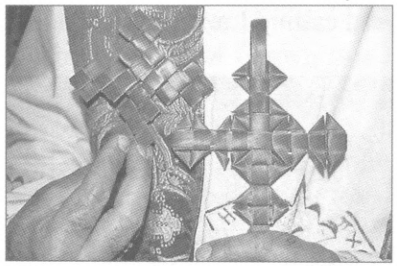
The day before Palm Sunday is the Saturday of Lazarus commemorating his resurrection (Jn. 11:1-45), with, at the time of communion (after Psalm 150), a hymn calling Lazarus to come out of his tomb.



Two days before Palm Sunday, that is the day before the Saturday of Lazarus, on Friday, holy oil for the sick is blessed in the church during the Prayer of the Unction of the Sick (*kandil*). The priest lights one by one, at the beginning of each of the seven prayers, the seven wicks put in a receptacle with oil which is put on a table, in front of the sanctuary. At the end, the priest anoints the faithful with the oil: on the forehead, the neck and on the inner sides of the wrists. Before that, the faithful prostrate to the ground. That Friday closes the time of Lent.

On Saturday night before Palm Sunday (*Ahad al-Za'af*) during the Office of Incense (on the Eve) and during the Office of Incense of the Morning (on Sunday morning, before the liturgy), a procession is made three times around the altar and three times around the church, with the icon of the feast, with the palms and olive branches, with censers, with tapers and procession crosses. During the Sunday procession, stops with Psalmic introductions and Gospel readings are made in front of the main altar and in front of the

icons of the Virgin, of Archangels Gabriel and Michael, of Saint Mark the Evangelist, of the Apostles, of Saint George or any martyr, of Saint Antony, of Saint John the Baptist, in front of the northern door, of the basin (if any) and of the southern door. The liturgy follows, with readings from the four Gospels of the feast. After the liturgy, the Prayers of the general funerals take place for those who may die during the Holy Week during which no funeral can be celebrated. Black curtains are put in the church around the columns, on the lecterns and on the sanctuary entrances which are kept until the end of the Eleventh Hour of Holy Friday.



The faithful weave bits of palm leaves into crosses and they carry them home with the palms. Only in a very few villages where Christians are a great majority, (i.e. in Sarakna near Qusiya), are houses still decorated with palms. In Sarakna, the bishop is still received from outside in the street and placed on a donkey, as Christ was, with people following him, waving palms and singing.

After the evening prayers (Ninth and Eleventh Hours), the Eastertide begins.

At the beginning of the Holy Week, from Monday to Wednesday, the whole Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke are read; the Gospel of John is read on the eve of Easter, before the evening prayers.

From the Eleventh Hour of Tuesday, until Friday evening, nobody kisses the cross or the hand of the priest, nor does any kissing in general, because of the kiss of Judas and his betrayal of Christ.

No liturgy is celebrated on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and on Holy Friday. After the readings of the Gospel of the Holy Week, commentaries are read. One song is continually repeated (*Thok te tigom*): " Yours is the Power, the Glory, the Blessing and the Might forever, amen, Emmanuel, Our God and Our King. "

On Maundy Thursday, at the Incense Office of the morning, the priest incenses the church without greeting the other priests as usual; after the Creed, the priest raises the cross with three lit candles asking for God's compassion and forgiveness; after the reading of the Acts of the Apostles (1:15-20), there is a chant blaming Judas,

and thus the procession is made in the reverse direction.

After the 9th Hour, there is the Prayer for the Blessing of the Water also called Prayer 'of the Basin' (*laqan*). During the reading of the Gospel of John (13:1-17), the bishop or priest ties a white towel around his waist. Then he blesses the water three times with the cross which he carries in his hand. Then the priest, traditionally, washes and wipes the feet of the archpriest or bishop if present, who himself washes and wipes the feet of the priests, deacons, following the example of Christ. The washing of the feet is still performed on Holy Thursday in some places, specially in Upper Egypt. Otherwise, the bishop or priest makes the sign of the cross with the dipped cloth in the water on top of men's feet. The blessing for women is by making the sign of the cross on their forehead.

After the foot-washing, the consecration of chrism (*myron*) may take place (when needed, that is at the time when there is no more *myron*), followed by the consecration of the oil of the catechumens or 'of gladness' (*ghalilaon*), both by the Patriarch, on two altars.

The Eucharist in commemoration of the Last Supper follows (Matt. 26:20-29), preceded by Psalms (23:5 and 41:9); and with special alterations such as no kiss of peace, no prayer of reconciliation, no commemoration of the saints. Before the 'Our Father', the Prayer of Fraction speaks of Isaac's immolation, with insertions of 'Kyrie eleison'. During communion, instead of Psalm 150, the Eleventh Hour is recited including its readings (Is. 52:13-53:12; Is. 19:19-25; Zech. 12:11 until the end, 13, 14:1-3 and 6-9; Jn. 13:21-30).

Before the first prayers on Good Friday morning, a stand is prepared for Holy Friday, outside the sanctuary, with black hangings. On it are the icon of the Crucifixion of Christ, one cross and flowers. Two candles are lit on each side of the cross. Three censers, (symbols of Christ with the Virgin and John), are hanging in front of the stand.

On Good Friday (*al-Gum'a al-'Azima*), specific readings are made: at the First Hour; at the Third Hour (Trial by Pilate); at the

Sixth Hour (Crucifixion): Num. 21:1-9; Is. 53:7-12; Is. 12:2-13:10; Amos 8:9-12; and Gal. 6:14-18. Then prayers are said such as: " O You who on the sixth day and at the sixth hour have been nailed to the Cross because of the sin which our father Adam dared to commit in Paradise, tear up the record of our trespasses, O Christ our God, and save us. "

There follows the song of the Onlybegotten (*Monogenes*), from Greek.

At the end of the reading of the Gospel of Matthew (27:27-45), lights are put out until the beginning of the Ninth Hour, as a sign of the end of darkness. Then follow the Gospels of Mark (15:26-33), Luke (23:26-44) and John (19:13-27). The Sixth Hour ends with the Song of the Good Thief: " In your Kingdom remember us, O Lord, when You come in your Kingdom ", with strophes.

During the Ninth Hour (Death), at 3 p.m., the readings are from Jeremiah (11:18-12:13); Zechariah (14:5-11); and Joel (2:1-3 and 10-11). Then, as at the Sixth Hour, the priests incense the icon of the Crucifixion, while singing these two chants: " This golden censer is the Virgin and its fragrance Our Saviour. She gave birth to Him, He saved us and redeemed us from our sins "; and " Here is the One who lifted Himself up in an acceptable sacrifice on the Cross for the salvation of the human race ". Then is another reading (Phil. 2:4-11) followed by prayers; and by readings from the Gospels of Matthew (27:46-50), Mark (15:34-37), Luke (23:45-46) and John (19:28-30).

At the Eleventh Hour (Taking Down from the Cross and Preparation for Burial), the readings are: Exodus (12:1-14), Lev. (23:5-12), Matthew (27:51-56), Mark (15:37-41), Luke (23:47-49) and John (19:31-37).

At the beginning of the Twelth Hour, the stand in front of the sanctuary and all items on it are taken away inside the sanctuary after the opening of its door, and candles are lit. The priests read the *Lamentations* by Jeremiah. Readings are made of Jonah (1:10-2:7), Matthew (27:57-61), Mark (15:42-16:1), Luke (23:50-56), and John (19:38-42).

After the litanies, outside the sanctuary, the priest raises the cross and the people repeat four hundred times 'Kyrie eleison', that is a hundred times facing the four cardinal points, with

prostrations, then twelve times towards the sanctuary.

Then, during the Song of Golgotha, speaking of the Good Thief and of Joseph and Nicodemus, a procession with the icons of the Crucifixion and that of the Burial, and with crosses and candles, is made three times around the altar and three times around the church, and a last time around the altar.

Then, the priest prepares 'the burial' on the altar by placing on it, at the south west corner, the icon of the Burial, and, on top, a cross, both wrapped in a white cloth, with red flowers and perfumes. Two lit candles are put on either side to represent the two angels who stood by Christ's Body.

Then, the whole Psalter should be read: Psalms are distributed among the priests and deacons in the sanctuary and also among the congregation. The curtain of the sanctuary is drawn while saying: " I laid me down and slept and rose up again " (Ps. 3:5).

The Holy Saturday, or 'Saturday of Light' (*Sabt al-Nour*) lasts the whole night, from Friday before midnight to Saturday morning. This Vigil of Holy Saturday includes processions, readings and many hymns: prayers and praises by prophets from the Old Testament (Hannah, Habakkuk, Jonah, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Elijah, David and Daniel), and King Solomon; and the Songs of Moses, of Hezekiah and of the Three Youths; the story of Susannah (Dan. 13); and Baruch; and from the New Testament: the Songs of the Virgin (Lk. 1:46-55), of Simeon (Lk. 2:29-32) and of Zachariah (Lk. 1:68-79).

During the Office of Incense of the Morning, the doxology of Dawn begins with 'O True Light'. It continues with the *Psali* 'Batos' beginning with 'God showers us with His goodness'; the Holy Saturday Canticle; one prayer to the Virgin (*Theotokia*); a procession with candles and cymbals around the altar and the church; the readings from Isaiah (55:2-13), I Corinthians (5:7-13) and Matthew (27:62-66). The Pauline Epistle, the Psalm verse and the Gospel are sung, with the first half in mourning tone and the last half not in mourning tone.

The Third and Sixth Hours (with the reading of the Beatitudes) preceed the reading of the Book of the Apocalypse which is followed by the Ninth Hour (John 5:21-30) and the liturgy during which two readings announce already the Resurrection of Christ (Gospels of Matt. 28:1-20; and, at communion, of Luke 24:1-12).

During the reading of the Apocalypse seven candles and seven oil lamps are lit, with a cross in the middle, as the number seven is referred to in the readings: the seven stars being the angels of the seven churches and the seven candlesticks being the seven churches; seven torches being the seven spirits of God, etc. After the reading the priest anoints the faithful with the oil 'of Apocalypse'.

On Saturday evening, during the preparation for the Easter procession, which takes place during the liturgy, after the reading of the Acts (2:22-28), the deacons sing 'You the heavenly ranks'.

The curtain of the sanctuary, and doors if any, are closed and all the lights are put off. Inside the sanctuary, a priest holds the icon of the Resurrection. Outside the sanctuary, the archdeacon says: " Christ is risen "; and the archpriest inside answers " Indeed He is risen. " They repeat singing that three times, with a louder and louder voice each time.

Then the deacon says three times: " Lift up your gates, rulers, and be you lifted up, everlasting gates, and the King of glory shall enter " (Ps. 24:7). Then the priest inside the sanctuary asks: " Who is this King of glory ? " (Ps. 24: 8). The deacon answers: " The Lord strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle. He is the King of Glory " (Ps. 24: 8-10).

The deacon makes a noise by knocking on the wall or door of the sanctuary. Then the door or curtain of the sanctuary is pushed open, while the lights are lit again and all the deacons enter the sanctuary. At the same time is sung, twice, " Christ is risen (*Kristos anesti*) from the dead, trampling down Death by death, and on those in the tombs giving Life ", with a louder voice each time.

Then the processsion takes place with deacons holding candles, crosses and flags, singing with cymbals and triangles and with one deacon holding the icon of the Resurrection which is censed by priests: they all go three times around the altar, three times around the church while singing again " Christ is risen ", with one more procession around the altar at the end.

The deacon holding the icon stands at the entrance of the sanctuary, facing the faithful, while the priest stands in front of the icon, censing it three times, outside the sanctuary. Then the icon of the Resurrection is set up outside the sanctuary, on a stand, with one big lighted candle in front of it; then the song 'Holy' (*Agios*), with

joyful tone, is followed by the Psalm verse (118:23-25): " This is the Lord's doing; it is marvellous in our eyes… ", and by the reading of the Gospel (John 20:1-18), and the liturgy continues.

A similar procession, while singing the Easter troparion, will take place during every liturgy until Ascension.

Easter Monday is known as *Sham al-Nasim*. It is an Egyptian spring feast celebrated by Christians and Muslims. During the liturgy the appearance of Christ to the disciples on the road to Emmaus is read (Lk. 24:13-35). Picnics, with salted fish, spring onions and boiled eggs, are organized to celebrate the Resurrection of Christ as well as spring. The Sunday after Easter is called Thomas Sunday or the 'New Sunday'.

Between Easter and Pentecost, a white curtain is put in front of the altar and the liturgy should be celebrated daily.

For the Ascension, the procession is made with the icon of the feast with the song " Christ ascended into Heaven…".

For Pentecost there is a procession, during the morning incense office, before the liturgy, while singing: " Christ ascended into Heaven and He sent unto us the Paraclete, the Spirit of Truth, the Comforter "; other songs are, after the reading of Acts: " The Holy Spirit the Comforter Who descended on the Apostles on the feast of Pentecost and they spoke in many tongues "; and during the communion: " Let us praise the Lord, because He was glorified by glory, He ascended to Heaven and sent us the Paraclete, the Spirit of Truth, the Comforter. " In the afternoon, during the Ninth Hour, the prayers of the Office of Genuflexion correspond more or less to those performed in the Byzantine tradition.

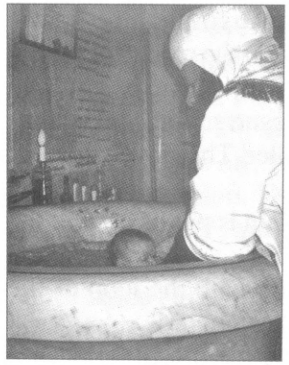
For the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul (12 July), the blessing with water is similar to that of Holy Thursday.

There are thirty-two Feasts of the Virgin during the year, the most important being: her birth (May 9/Bashans 1) and its annunciation (August 13/Misra 7), her presentation in the temple (December 12/Kiyahk 3), her dormition (January 29/Tuba 21) and the assumption of her body (August 22/Misra 16). There is a feast to commemorate the consecration of the first church dedicated to her at Philippi (June 28/Ba'una 21).

The first day of her apparition in Zaytun is now celebrated (April 2/Baramhat 24).

9) Sacraments and Funerals

On the seventh day after birth, for the so-called prayer of the 'first bathing' of the baby or 'prayer of the basin' (*salat al-tisht*), the priest comes to the home to do it. Candles are lit and olive oil (*zaytun*) and salt are put in the basin. It takes place with family and friends. It is just a blesssing and does not replace the baptism.



For baptism, clothing must be white. For boys and girls a red ribbon (*zonnar*) is tied diagonally around the chest. After the liturgy, a procession of deacons with the mother carrying the baby go round the church inside three times, then the ribbon is removed. Baptism is traditionaly performed before the liturgy, by full immersion, three times, and it is followed by chrismation with holy chrism (*myron*) and participation in the holy communion during the Eucharist.

Three oils are used during baptism. The first, before the renunciation of Satan, when absolution is given to the mother and the child to be baptised, is with blessed olive oil (*zeit al-zaytun*). After the renunciation of Satan and the recitation of the Creed, there is anointment with the 'oil of gladness' (in Arabic *zet al-farah* or *ghalilaon* from the Greek word). And, after immersion, the priest makes the sacrament of confirmation with holy oil, the *myron* (in Arabic *al-mayrun*), signing with it thirty six times, on several parts of the body, with the sign of the cross. This oil is also put into the baptism water. Two of these oils are used in other ceremonies, for example: *myron* is also used for consecrations of churches, church altars, liturgical vessels, icons, etc; and olive oil is also used for the unction of the sick, and after the reading of the Apocalypse ('Saturday of Light').

For marriage, at the beginning of the ceremony, before the prayers of thanksgiving, the priest blesses the rings three times and, during the Gospel reading, he puts them on the fingers of the couple, on the left hand. The priest puts a special cape (*burnus*) on the man, a red ribbon

(*zonnar*) is put over it, around the chest, diagonally. The readings are from Saint Paul (Eph. 5:22-6: 3), Psalm verses (19:5-6 and 128:3-4) and from the Gospel (Matt.19:1-6). Then the priest anoints both the bride and groom with holy oil (*zeit al-zaytun*) on the forehead, neck and on the two wrists. The priest blesses the crowns (*al-akalil*) which will be put on the heads of the couple. Their right hands are put together, with a cloth on top, while the priest blesses with a cross the bent crowned heads touching each other. The priest gives three spiritual advices on love and mutual respect in marital life. Then he takes the couple in front of the altar and they kneel for the final blessing, with the two right hands joined together and with heads touching each other. The crowns, the cape and the ribbon are removed after the final blessing. Marriages cannot be celebrated during Lent and fasting periods and days.

The prayers of funeral have common main parts, but with different readings for different people (for men, women, children, patriarchs and bishops, priests, deacons, monks and nuns). The coffin is put on a stand in front of the sanctuary, outside the closed curtain. During the prayers, the coffin is left open only for the clergy.

As mourning signs, people wear black clothes. In some villages, i.e. in Middle and Upper Egypt, still following popular tradition, the dead person is carried in a coffin, sometimes followed by mourners (*naddabah*, pl. *naddabat*). Some women still follow the ancient way to put indigo colour (*zahra*) on their face and hair, but this custom is not accepted by the Church.

Some people visit the tombs on the anniversary of death (40th day and every year), as well as at certain main feasts. Then, food and alms are given to the poor

In conclusion, we can see how liturgical life embraces every step of life's journey. One of the best books to explain the traditional Coptic liturgical life is *The Egyptian or Coptic Church* by Burmester. Let us underline that many prayers are similar in the Coptic and in the Byzantine Orthodox traditions. All the Greek *troparia* of the great feasts are retained in the Coptic Church. Burmester and others have written articles on these subjects.

Chapter 7

Spirituality

Spiritual life for the Copts is expressed not only in the liturgical life, but also in other ways described below.

The Coptic Orthodox Christians believe in the Holy Trinity and in Jesus Christ the Saviour, the Incarnate Word of God, Perfect God and Perfect Man at the same time. The intercession of the Virgin, of the angels and of the many saints and martyrs is requested. Their feasts and lives are to be found in the Coptic *Book of the Lives of the Saints* (*Synaxarion*) and also in other books. The feast days are given here in the western Gregorian and Coptic calendars.

The main Archangels venerated are: Gabriel (April 8/Baramhat 30, 20 June/Ba'una 13 and 31 December/Kiyahk 22); Raphael (September 8/Nasi 3), Suriel (February 4/Tuba 27); and the Archangel Michael, commemorated on the twelfth day of each Coptic month, with two main feasts (June 19/Ba'una 12 and November 21/Hatur 12).

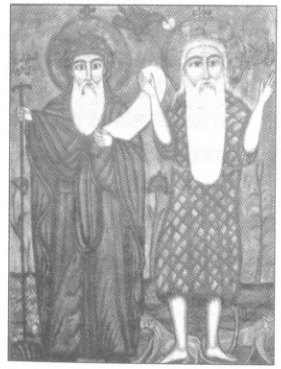
There are feasts of the Old Testament Patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, (September 3/Misra 28) and Prophets; the Apostles Peter and Paul (July 12/Abib 5), the Evangelists, the Seventy Disciples of Christ, the Twenty-four Presbyters or Elders of the Apocalypse (December 3/Hatur 24), the Four Incorporeal Creatures of the Apocalypse (November 17/Hatur 8), the Three Youths in the Furnace (May 18/Bashens 10), etc.

There are also commemorations of the Patriarchs of Alexandria, of other Patriarchs and of Church Fathers such as, chronologically: Mark the Evangelist and Apostle, the first Patriarch of Alexandria, martyr, (May 8/Baramuda 30); Demetrius I, 12th Patriarch (d. 230), (October 22/Baba 12); Peter I of Alexandria, (d. 310) called 'the Seal of the Martyrs' as he was the last martyr of Diocletian's persecution (8 December/29 Hatur); Athanasius I (d. 373), (May 15/Bashan 7); Theophilus the 23rd Patriarch (d. 412), (October 28/Baba 18); Cyril I of Alexandria, Pillar of Faith (d. 444), (10 July/3 Abib); Dioscorus I, the 25th Patriarch (d. 454) (September 17/Tut 7); Peter III, the 27th Patriarch of Alexandria (d. 489), (November 11/Hatur 2); Severus of Antioch (d. 538), (February 21/Amshir 14); as well as John Chrysostom (November 26/Hatur 17); Basil (January 14/Tuba 6); and Gregory of Nyssa (29 January/21 Tuba).

The saints and martyrs venerated by the Copts are either from Egyptian origin or from Greek Byzantine, Syrian, Armenian, Ethiopian, Roman, and others, sometimes with variants in the life stories of the different traditions, such as, among many others, by alphabetical order: Ephrem the Syrian (22 July/15 Abib); Febronia (July 8/Abib 1); Gregory the Enlightener, founder of the Armenian Church (24 December/15 Kiyahk); Nicolas, bishop of Myra (December 19/Kiyahk 10); Repsima and Gaiana of the Armenian Church (October 8/Tut 29); Simeon the Stylite (August 9/Misra 3); Takla Haymanot the national saint of Ethiopia (August 30/Misra 24). Some others are mentioned below.

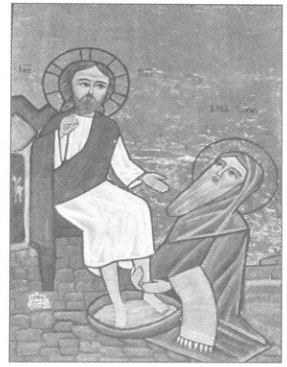
The following are some of the saints and martyrs most venerated by the Copts, with iconographical features for the main ones, which recall their lives and aid recognition.

Some of the main ascetics and monastic saints are, by alphabetic order:



- Antony (3-4th cent.) the father of all monks (January 30/Tuba 22)

- Bishoi (4-5th cent.), founder of a monastery in Wadi al-Natrun. He is represented either carrying on his back an old man who was recognized as being Christ; or washing the feet of the Lord as a Visitor: when he saw his face full of light he understood that it was Christ, who then immediately disappeared (July 15/Abib 8)

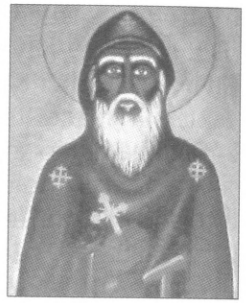


- John the Short (also called John Colobos) of the desert of Scetis (4th cent.), (October 30/Baba 20)

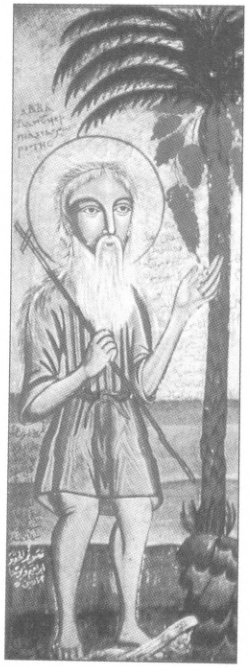
- John Kame, (9th cent.) founder of a monastery in Scetis (January 3/Kiyahk 25)

- Macarius the Great, founder of a monastery in Scetis in the 4th century (April 5/Baramhat 27). Other saints bear the same name such as: Macarius of Alexandria (4th cent.), superior of the Kellia or the Cells (May 14/Bashans 6) and Macarius bishop of Tkow (5th cent.) and martyr (6 Novembre/27 Baba).

- Maximus and Domitius, two noblemen of the 4th century who became monks (January 25/Tuba 17)



- Moses the Black (4th cent.), a converted thief who became an ascetic monk (July 1/Ba'una 24)



- Onuphrius or Nofr (4th cent.), an anchorite in the wilderness, represented near a palm tree of which dates were his food (June 23/Ba'una 16)

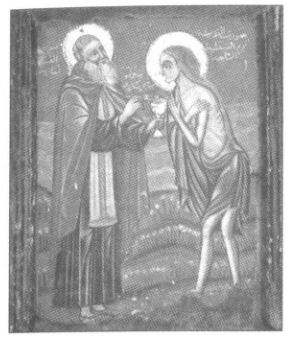
- Pachomius (4th cent.) the founder of communal monastic life (May 22/Bashans 14)

- Paul the Theban (4th cent.), called 'the first hermit', represented with the two lions which dug out the grave for his burial; and with the crow which brought daily a loaf of bread for his food (February 9/Amshir 2)

- Samuel, (7th cent.) hegumen of Qalamun Monastery who lost one eye after beatings by Chalcedonian imperial envoys (December 17/Kiyahk 8)

- Shenute, hegumen of the White Monastery (5th cent.), (July 14/Abib 7).

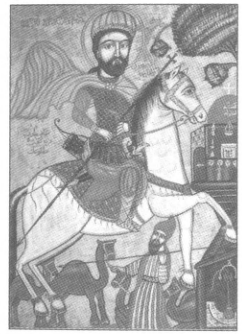
The ascetic holy nuns and virgins include: Alexandra, who lived locked in a tomb for twelve years (February 14/Amshir 7); Sarah, an ascetic in Upper Egypt (March 24/Barmahat 15); Theodora, a rich woman who sold her goods and gave them to the poor (April 19/Baramuda 11); and some nuns or 'women monks' disguised as men such as: Anastasia (February 3/Tuba 26), Hilaria



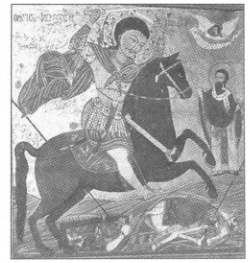
(January 29/Tuba 21), Marina (August 21/Misra 15) and Pelagia (October 21/Baba 11). The most famous example of repentance after a life of prostitution is Saint Mary the Egyptian who then lived as a hermit in the desert of Palestine (April 14/Baramuda 6).

Among the saints, many martyrs are recorded, especially at the beginning of Christianity when many Christians of Egypt refused to worship the pagan gods or were killed because they were Christians.

Some are common to other Churches such as: Stephen the first martyr (January 9/Tuba 1), the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste (March 22/Baramhat 13), Sergius (October 20/Baba 10) and Bacchus (October 14/Baba 4) both martyred in Syria in the 4th century.



The main so-called 'equestrian' saints and martyrs represented on horseback are: Iskhiron of Qallin (Ba'una 7/June 14), James the Persian or the Cut, (December 6/Hatur 27), Julius of Aqfahs (October 2/Tut 22), Susinius (May 4/Baramuda 26) and Victor (May 5/Baramuda 27).

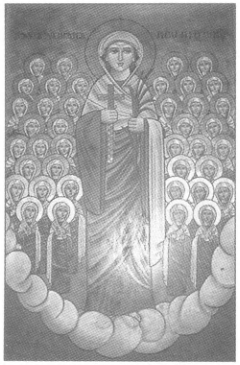


The three most popular 'military' saints are the following. Saint Mercurius (3rd cent.) or Abu Saifain, called 'the Bearer of Two Swords' because an angel appeared to him and handed him a second sword, was martyred in Caesarea in Cappadocia, present day Turkey, (day of martyrdom Hatur 25/4 December). Saint Theodore (also called in Arabic Amir Tadrus) of Shutb, near Asyut, killed a dragon in order to save the children of a widow (July 27/Abib 20). Saint George of Cappadocia, well-known in the whole of Christendom, can be recognized by his killing a dragon in order to rescue the children of the widow (day of

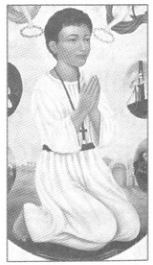
martyrdom (May 1/Baramuda 23).

In the *Synaxarion* are also found other saints named Theodore: Theodore al-Mishriqy, the Oriental, (Toba 12/January 20) and Theodore the Greek, martyr (March 7/Amshir 28); as well as two other saints named George: George the Alexandrian (3rd cent.), martyr (November 16/Hatur 7) and George al-Muzahim (10th cent.), from the Delta, who had a Christian mother and a Muslim father and converted to Christianity, was persecuted and beheaded (19 Ba'una/June 26).

Among the women, mothers and children martyrs, let us name: Barbara, (December 17/Kiyahk 8); Mother Dulagi, who refused to worship idols, and her four sons who all died as martyrs in Esna (3rd cent.), (December 23/Kiyahk 14); Saint Julietta and her young son Cyriacus (July 22/Abib 15); Marina (July 30/Abib 23); Mohrail of Tammua (January 22/Tuba 14) and her little brother Hor, beheaded in Antinoe in the 4th century (July 19/Abib 12); Rebecca and her five children (4th cent.), (September 17/Tut 7); Suzanna and her children (October 18/Baba 8); and Tecla (October 3/23 Tut).



One of the most famous Egyptian woman martyrs is Damiana (3rd cent.) represented with the forty virgins who led together a Christian life of prayer and who were all killed together (January 21/Tuba 13).

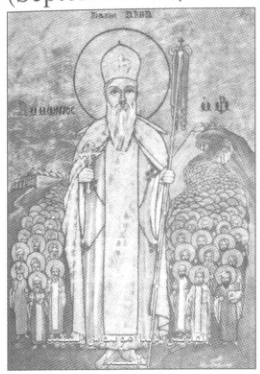


The most popular of the child saints and martyrs (4th cent.) is Anub, known as Aba Nub (Abib 24/July 31).

There are saints and martyrs who were physicians such as: Colluthus of Antinoe, known for curing eye diseases (Bashan 25/June 2); Cosmas and Damian (December 1/Hatur 22); and Cyrus and John (June 21/Ba'una 14).

Some saints are related to animals such as Menas (3rd cent.) who claimed his Christian faith and was executed, represented with two camels which carried his body (24 November/Hatur 15); another martyr

related to a camel is Ruwais (d. beg. 15th cent.), (October 31/Baba 21). Barsum al-Aryan 'the Naked' (14th cent.), who was defrauded of his patrimony by his uncle, dwelt as a hermit in a small cave under the Church of Saint Mercurius in Old Cairo, where there also lived a snake; and later on a heap of dust and ashes at Ma'asara (September 10/Nasi 5).



Some saints are related to specific locations where believers were martyred such as: in Akhmim; as well as in Isna with Bishop Ammonius (December 23/Kiyahk 14) himself a martyr; and in Tima with Abu Fam, another remembered martyr (3rd cent.), (Tuba 27/February 4).

There are saints of the 19th century such as: Bishop Abraham, (1829-1914), bishop of Fayyum, who loved and helped the poor and cured the sick (June 10/Ba'una 3); Father Michael al-Buhayri (1847-1923) a monk of al-Muharraq and a spiritual son of Bishop Abraham of Fayyum (Amshir 16/February 23); and Father Abd al-Masih al-Maqari al-Manahri (1892-1963), a monk and priest in Saint Macarius' Monastery who ended his life in his birth place in Manahra, north of Samalut, where his relics are kept, is a wonderworker (April 14/Baramuda 6).

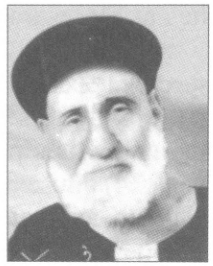
Other holy men are very popular and commemorated by the faithful such as Salib (16th cent.), a martyr (December 12/Kiyahk 3); Sarabamun the Veiled (19th cent.), bishop of Monofeya (Shibin al-Kom), who healed the daughter of Muhammad Ali from evil spirits (28 Baramhat/6 April); Sidhum Bishai (1804-1844), a clerk and a deacon at the time of Muhammad Ali, considered as a martyr as he was unjustly insulted and tortured, beaten and stoned and remained a faithful Christian, but finally died (March 26/Baramhat 17).

A new edition of the *Synaxarion* is being prepared by the Holy Synod and it will include new names. Fifty years are required after the death of someone in order to claim his or her holiness.

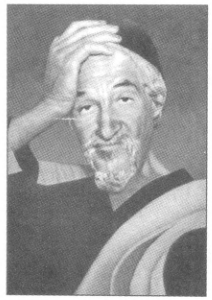
Some contemporary Copts are very popular and are already recognized as 'holy persons' by many Copts because of their

spiritual life and also because of their spiritual advice and of their healing miracles and spiritual gifts (prediction of events, clairvoyance, casting out of bad spirits), before and after their death.

Most venerated is Pope Cyril VI (1902-1971) regarded as a healer.



There are married priests such as Abuna Yasa Mikh'ail (1877-1962) a parish priest near Tima, and Father Bishoi Kamel (1931-1979) of the Church of Saint George in Sporting in Alexandria who used to speak about Transfiguration through the Cross.

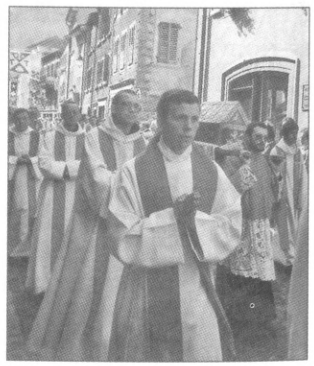


Some contemporary monks are considered holy, such as Father Yustus (1910-1976) of the Monastery of Saint Antony and Father Andarawus (d. 1988), a blind monk of the Monastery of Saint Samuel.

Some of the contemporary nuns known for their holy lives are mentioned in the chapter on monasticism.

Some contemporary women are considered as spiritual figures such as Ardina Malaka Yousif (d. 1993) called 'the mother of the poor' (*Om al-Ghaleba*) because she helped many poor in Shubra, Cairo.

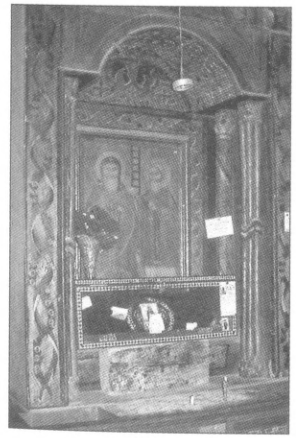
Some Egyptian saints are found outside Egypt. In Greece, in Loutraki (near Corinthias), Saint Patapios (4-5th cent.), whose body is venerated in the Monastery of his name, is believed to be of Egyptian origin. Late in the 3rd century, the Christian soldiers of the 'Theban Legion' were killed because they refused to worship pagan gods: in Switzerland several of these martyr saints are remembered, in particular Maurice (September 22/Tut 12) and his companions in Saint Maurice, Valais; Felix, Regula and Exuperantius in Zurich, whose figures appear on the coats of arms of the city and



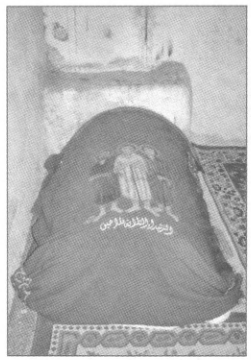
canton of Zurich (September 11/Tut 1); and Verena, a holy woman who accompanied the 'Theban Legion', buried in present Zurzach, near Baden, Zurich, (Misra 26/September 1), represented with a comb and a pitcher. Some other saints of the 'Theban Legion' are found in northern Italy and in Germany such as Saints Cassius and Florentius in Bonn; and Saint Gereon in Cologne.

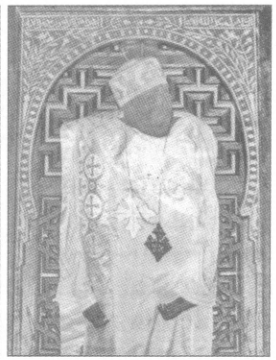
Some Copts who were killed in recent decades in Cairo and Upper Egypt by Islamic fundamentalists, because they were Christians, are seen by other Copts as martyrs. From 1990 to 2000 more than a hundred Copts were killed in Egypt, including the twenty one Copts killed from December 29th 1999 to January 2nd 2000 in Al-Kosh a village in Upper Egypt, south of Suhag. In 1994, two monks and three lay Copts were killed at the outer gate of the Monastery of Muharraq.

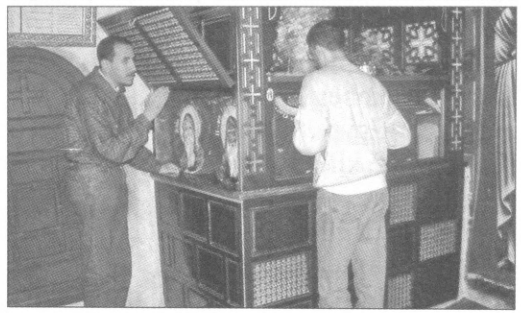
During recent excavations in the 1990s, bodies and fragments of skeletons found near different churches and monasteries have been declared by the Coptic Church as being of: martyrs with commemoration days, for example in Naqlun, Fayyum, (September 1); and saints such as Simon the Tanner (10th cent.) in Muqattam, Cairo, whose faith was so strong that the mountain of Muqattam could be lifted from the ground (cf Matt. 17:20), (August 4). Such relics are exposed in several churches in Egypt and abroad.



Relics are found in all churches and monasteries. They are kept in cylindrical boxes covered with dark-red silk or velvet, which are put under the icons of the saints. The relics of the saints and martyrs of yesterday and of today are seen as a source of blessing. The faithful venerate them by touching and kissing the boxes and bowing in front of them. Some bodies remain incorrupt such as that of Saint Sidhum Bishai, kept in a glass sarcophagus in the Cathedral of the Virgin in Damietta. In *Two Thousand Years of Coptic Christianity*, Otto







Meinardus gives a list of the main places where the relics of the saints are to be found in Egypt.

On the saint's feast, the relics are taken in procession, and, uncovered, are anointed with a mixture of perfumed oils and aromatics (*hanut*), before being put back in the box and brought back to their place.

Some bodies of bishops regarded as saints are venerated, for example Bishop Macarius in the cathedral in Qina and Bishop Luqa (1930-65) in the Church of Saint Theodore, south Manfalut.

Some of the relics of the 'Theban Legion' are kept in Switzerland, Germany and France. Recently, some of the relics of Saints Maurice and Verena and of Saints Cassius and Florentius were brought from Switzerland and from Germany to Egypt.

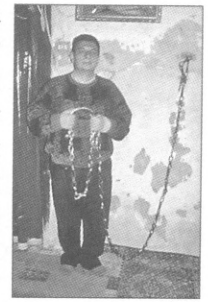
Many miracles and healings are ascribed to the saints and their relics. Some saints are known for curing diseases, for example Aba Nub.

Hoping to be healed, people come and pray near the tombs of the saints and martyrs. Some even spend the night near the body of a saint or holy person, for example near the tomb of the monk Saint Mark in Saint Antony's Monastery; near the tomb of Pope Cyril VI in Saint Menas Monastery, or near the tomb of Father Yasa Mikh'ail (1877-1962) in the new Church of the Virgin in a village, 40 km west of Tima.

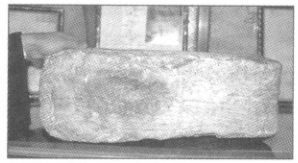
Father Yuhanna Sabet of the Church of the Virgin in Hard al-Golf, Cairo said: "I see how God performs miracles with everybody, but we don't pay attention. If we have in our mind 'to receive from the hand of God', if we pay attention, then we shall see many miracles."

Many books and booklets relating the miracles performed by the saints and holy people of the past and of today are printed, for example miracles of Saints Mercurius and Menas as well as of Pope Cyril VI. Some include medical reports.

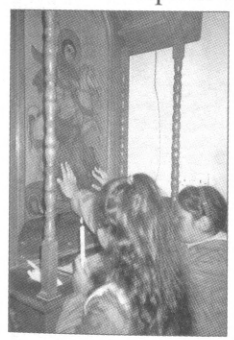
Many brochures, tapes and videos are dedicated to spiritual life in general.



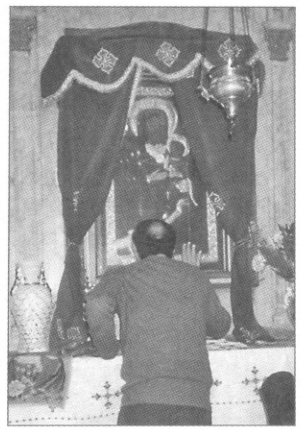
The faithful feel they have a blessing, or may be healed, by touching objects which belonged to the saints. For example, the chain of Saint George in the Convent of Saint George in Old Cairo is placed around the neck and body of the faithful (who then remain barefoot), to heal spirit possessed, the mentally ill and barren women, as well as other sicknesses.



A stone, found in 1984 near the entrance of the Church of the Virgin in Sakha in Kafr al-Shaikh and kept there, is said to bear the footprint of the child Jesus.

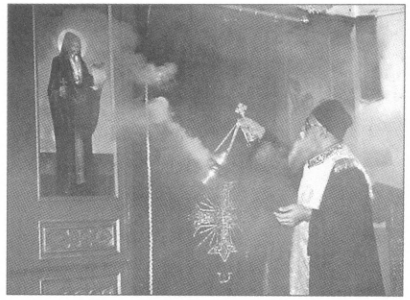


Icons, pictures and wall paintings with representations of Christ, the Virgin and the saints are venerated, not worshipped, in church and at home.



The faithful touch them with their hands, which they then kiss before touching the next icon; they put candles and they pray in front of them. There is a special prayer for the blessing of icons and wall paintings.

As recorded by many texts throughout the centuries, and even now, some icons effect miracles and healings. For example,



in the Church of the Virgin in Ibiyar, (18 km from Tanta, direction Alexandria), on April 15th 1996, an Easter Monday, oil began to flow on an icon, coming from the left ear of the Saviour, and from the mouth, neck and eyes of the Virgin; and it continues to do so. Sometimes her hands become moist, as does her right eye looking towards Jesus and towards his globe.

In 1989, what appeared like blood wept from a colour print of the Virgin in the Church of Saint George in a village of Wadi al-Natrun.

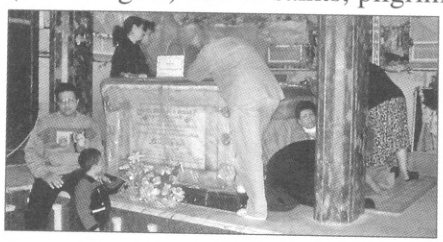
In 2002, some 'blood' came out of the finger of Christ on an icon in the Church of the Virgin in Barsha, near Mallawi.

In 1990, oil appeared on two modern Coptic icons in the Church of the Virgin in Cleveland, Ohio, US.

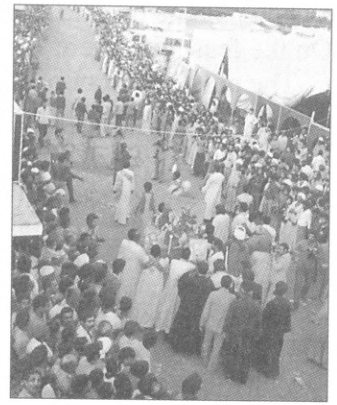
Small pictures of Christ, the Virgin, and of the saint chosen as patron are kept in purses, bags, and on car windows.

Some of the faithful ask intercession with trust and they put slips of paper with their petitions on the frames of icons, on the tombs of saints or under the glass protecting relics.

Pilgrimages are great occasions for gathering to express Christian faith and spirituality. For great festivals of Christ, of the Virgin (7-22 August) and of saints, pilgrimages are organized. In the best



known places of pilgrimage, thousands may attend and pray, coming from all over Egypt by private car or by bus, often with people of their parish and their priests.



In the past, and still today in some places, pilgrims will sleep in tents (Convent of Saint Damiana, Monasteries of al-Muharraq, of Durunka, and of Saint George near Luxor). Nowadays, in many places, special buildings have been erected for accommodation.

As a blessing, the faithful may rub the tomb, or relics, of the saints with a scarf or handkerchief, which they bring back home.

They may make vows (*nudhur*) in asking for healing, for bearing children, passing exams, etc.

Many baptisms of children take place during the pilgrimages, in order to put the child under the protection of the Virgin or of a specific saint. It is also a time when children and people have the cross, or the figure of the Virgin, or of a saint, tatooed on the hand or arm.

The faithful offer donations (candles, oil and incense, money) to the church or monastery and to the poor.

Specially during pilgrimages, but also at other times, small gifts are distributed to the pilgrims and visitors, such as a tiny bottle of blessed oil, often with a picture of the saint inside; or an image of the saint on card, to which a spice mixture (*hanut)* which has previously touched the relics of the saint, is attached. During the pilgrimages, small boxes containing sweets may also be offered.

In church, people make specific praises and sing specific songs in front of the relics or icon in honour of the Virgin or of the saint. During the pilgrimage, several liturgies are celebrated every morning for the numerous pilgrims. Before the feast day, the faithful pray all night in and around the church.

On the day, or days, before the feast, at vesper time, a procession (*dora*) with the relics and the icon of the saint takes place, with bishops as well as priests censing, and deacons holding crosses, other icons or pictures, and banners. They go around the church and the tents, if any, while the people are chanting and clapping,

and then come back to the church. Women may ululate (*zaghruta*). On the feast day, there is another similar procession.

The most recent miracles of the saint are told to the pilgrims. For example, in the Monastery of Saint Mercurius (Abu Saifain) in Old Cairo, Mother Irini, the abbess of the monastery, tells the new miracles performed during the year by the saint. Some people who were cured, or experienced a miracle, stand by her and they may speak about it. Transmission is operated around the monastery by loudspeakers and by video on screens.

During the pilgrimages, animals (cow, buffalo, sheep and lamb) are killed as offerings (*nadhr*) honouring the Virgin or a saint, or to give thanks for the realization of a vow. Their meat, raw or cooked, is given to benefit the church and poor.

Many people come and sell religious items such as pictures, crosses, tapes with spiritual talks and music, as well as many other things such as food, clothes and toys.

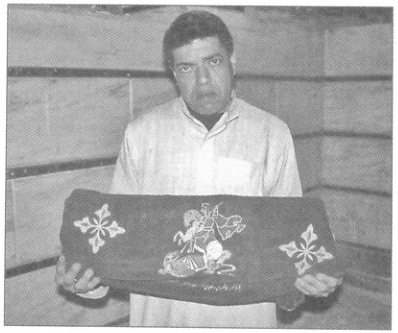
In every place of pilgrimage there is a shop selling record pictures of the place, booklets, scarves, T-shirts, videos, etc.

Some Muslims attend these pilgrimages for several reasons such as sickness and sterility.

The following are the main places of pilgrimage, in churches and monasteries, related to the feasts of the saints, of the Virgin, or to the Flight of the Holy Family in Egypt; the last one may be connected with festivals for the Virgin such as her Assumption on August 22.

In the Delta, two places are very important.

At Mit Damsis, (20 km north of Mit Ghamr, direction Mansura, then turn left and drive for 6 km), in the Church dedicated to Saint George, the relics of Saint George are known to cure people from evil spirits (feast August 22-31).



Near by, in the Monastery of Saint Damiana, near Damiette and Bilqas, there are two pilgrimage days: for her martyrdom (January 21), and for the dedication of the church by Queen Saint Helen (May 20) which is the most attended. Apparitions of the saint are known in the cupola of the church.

There are other pilgrimages in the Delta.

At Sunbat (take road in the direction of Mahala, then turn to the right), the relics of Saint Rebecca and of her five children are venerated as well as relics of thirteen other martyrs (four day pilgrimage with feast on September 17). There is a well of holy water.

At Samannud (32 km north Sunbat), where the relics of Saint Aba Nub are greatly venerated, the pilgrimage begins one week before the feast (July 31). Tradition recalls that Jesus blessed the water of the well when the Holy Family stopped there.

Near Damietta, is kept the body of Saint George al-Muzahim (feast June 26, after ten days's pilgrimage).

In Upper Egypt, the great pilgrimage of Saint George takes place in the Monastery of Saint George at al-Rizaiqat, near Luxor (November 10-16).

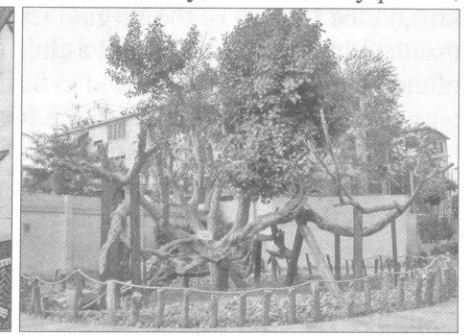
Near Beni Suef, the main pilgrimages are for Saint George, or Mari Girgis, at Beba (25 km south of Beni Suef, west bank, May 1) and for the Virgin at Bayad al-Nasara (east bank, August 6-21).

There are other smaller regional pilgrimages such as that of Saint Iskhiron of Qallin at al-Bayahu (between Samalut and Itsa, 5 km south of Samalut), (June 14; March 19 and Ascension).

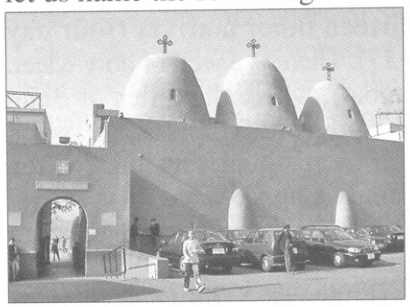
Of course, all around Egypt, there are important pilgrimages for the feasts of the saints in the monasteries of Saints Antony, Paul, Bishoi, Menas, Samuel, etc, (see details in chapter 8, on monasteries).

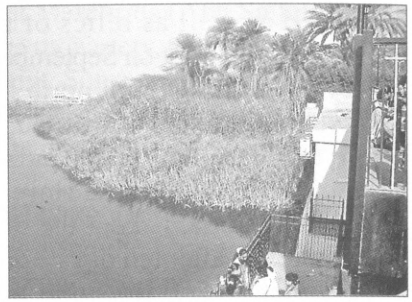
The Holy Family travelled in the north of Sinai, in the Delta, in the Wadi al-Natrun, in Cairo and in Middle Egypt until the southern place of the present Monastery of Muharraq, near Asyut.

As the Copts consider the coming of the Holy Family with Christ to Egypt as a special blessing for their country, about twenty places,

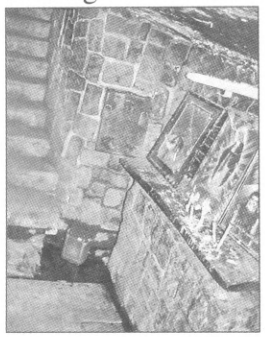


churches and monasteries, where they are said to have stopped are regarded as places of pilgrimages until today. Among the main ones, let us name the following.



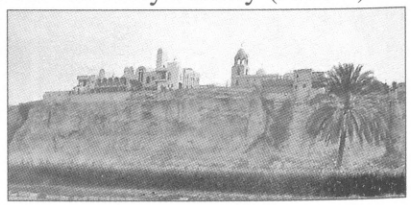


In Cairo, three places in particular are visited: the crypt of the Church of Saint Sergius (in Old Cairo); the tree called 'of the Virgin' and the well in the quarter of Matariya (north Cairo), and the Church of the Virgin in Ma'adi (a suburb south of Cairo), where a Bible found floating on the Nile in 1976 is exhibited (that feast on March 12).



At Musturud (in the north of Cairo, 3 km north of al-Matariya and across the Isma'ilia Canal), is a place of pilgrimage in the Church of the Virgin (June 15, for the consecration of the church by Pope Mark III in 1185; and August 22). In the church, there is a little cave, and a well, which has miraculous water that pilgrims take back home.

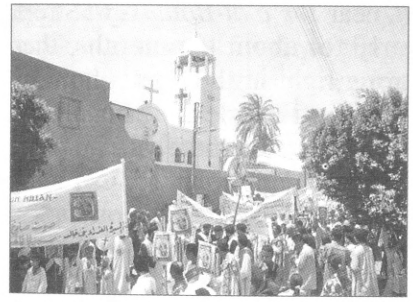
In the Delta, the Holy Family is remembered: at Samannud (June 1); at Daqadus, (2 km north of Mit Ghamr, direction Mansura, then turn left and drive one km), in the Church of the Virgin there is a well where the Copts say that the Virgin washed Christ as a child (pilgrimage for the Assumption of the Virgin on August 22); and in Sakha (2 km west Kafr al-Shaikh), which was another stopping place for the Holy Family (June 1).

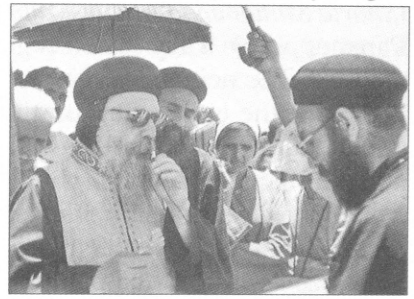


In Middle Egypt, the most important pilgrimage places of the Holy Family are: Dair al-Muharraq, north of Asyut, (June 21-28); Durunka, south of Asyut (August 7-22); Gabal al-Tayr,

in the Church of the Virgin, also called the Convent of the Pulley, (on the east bank: by boat opposite the village of al-Bayahu near Samalut; or by car from Minya), with the largest festival in the week before Ascension; Dair al-Garnus, in the Church of the Virgin (June 1), (18 km south-west of Maghagha and 7 km west of Ishnin al-Nasara), with a well with healing water.

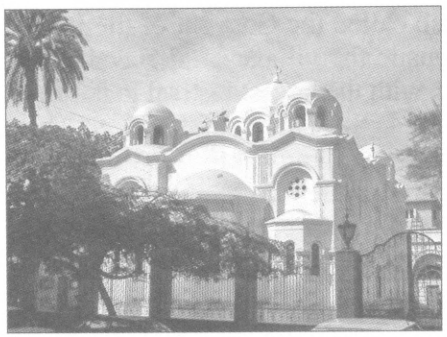
In some places, special celebrations take place to honour the coming of the Holy Family to Egypt. In Ma'adi (south Cairo), in the evening before the feast (May 31), the bishop and clergy arrive by sailing boats to the Church of the Virgin and they pray on a large boat near the shore. Near Mallawi, in Qom Maria in the village of Dair Abu Hinnis (east bank), since 1998, two celebrations take place: on the day of the murder of the children of Bethlehem by King Herod, which was the day the Holy Family began





their flight on January 11 or 12; and June 1; both feasts are now transferred to the end of January or June-July, during winter and summer holidays. Then the Bishop of Mallawi crosses the river on a traditional sailing boat (*feluka*) with the picture of the Holy Family on the sail; a procession takes place to the village of Deir Abu Hinnis; doves are set free; someone tells the story of the Holy Family in Egypt while some 'actors' walk around with a donkey to represent the Virgin and Joseph; there are also speeches and prayers.

Every month, on the 21st day, there is commemoration of the Virgin; and on the 29th, of the feasts of the Annunciation, Nativity and Resurrection.



The most famous recent apparition happened in the Church of the Virgin in Zaytun, a district of Cairo (Sharia Tuman Bey). On April 2nd 1968, in the evening, a young lady all dressed in white was seen walking on top of the dome. She was carrying an olive branch. A flock of white doves were flying above her head. This appearance was repeated for many months at different times. She would also greet all the people present. At times, there was a smell of incense. Many were cured. A patriarchal bulletin about the apparitions was issued on May 4th 1968. The anniversary of the first appearance is now observed each year.

Also in Cairo, on March 25th 1986, apparitions of the Virgin began in the Church of Saint Damiana, in a narrow street in Shubra (*Sharia Muhammad Abd al-Muta'il*, near *Ter'a al-Boulakeya* Street, Papadopoulo). They lasted regularly for about ten months, then stopped. The neighbours saw a strong light in the dome, but also on top of the bell tower, on the roof and inside the church. An adolescent girl appeared, as well as doves, and there was a strong smell of incense. As in Zaytun, crowds of people came, including Muslims. Here also, miracles occurred and medical reports attest them. Again, a committee of bishops had to describe and confirm what had happened and made an official declaration.

Other apparitions of the Virgin took place in Egypt in Idfu (1982), Durunka (1980-90), Minya (1999), Asyut (2000) and in other places. Many people continue to visit all these places.

Apparitions are recorded in the past in ancient Coptic texts and also today; of holy people, and of angels and archangels. Archangel Michael appeared in the Church of Saint Michael in the village of Kafr Yusuf Samri (5 km from Zaqaziq) in 1996. Recently Pope Cyril VI appeared on a window in the Coptic Hospital of Saint Mary in Asyut; then the window was moved to the Monastery of Muharraq.

Through such apparitions, miracles and healings, the faith of many people is strengthened.

Spirituality in daily life

Copts spend much time in church, not only during regular prayer times, but also at any time of the day or in the evening.

Spiritual activities are organized in every parish.

On entering a church, the faithful first go to the central sanctuary door, they prostrate to the ground, recite 'Our Father' with hands held up to heaven, and they kiss the curtain which closes the entrance to the sanctuary.

Some Copts pray some prayers of the Book of Hours (*Agbiya*), mostly the morning prayers and the prayers before sleeping.

Some Copts sing the hymns of the Psalmody Books (*Tasbeha*).

The 'Jesus Prayer' used in the monasteries is also used by lay people. When the faithful meet a priest, they often ask for a prayer of blessing: the priest puts his hand cross on their bowed head, prays, then he gives the final blessing by making the sign of the cross on the person's forehead.

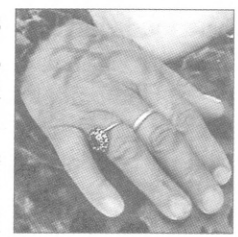
After confesssion, for absolution, he does likewise, that time also with laying his hand on the head and with a soft blowing on the head.

Confession is given to the spiritual father. General prayer of absolution may be given to a group of faithful before communion, for example when a group visits a monastery.

Spiritual fathers play an important rôle in the life of the Copts. They may be chosen among married priests, and also among bishops and some monks. It is usual that spiritual fathers visit their spiritual 'children' at home and share meals with the family.

During the Lent, priests go around for blessing the houses and the sick (*kandil*).

If the people are sick, the priest recites the prayer for the sick and specific Psalms; he makes an anointment with the oil of the unction of the sick.



Some priests have a gift for performing prayers of exorcism for those possessed by an evil spirit, using holy water and oil, with the cross laid on certain parts of the body and blowing on the body.

The Cross is all powerful. The faithful have crosses tatooed on hands and arms. It is customary for Christians to paint crosses on the walls and

doors of their houses, especially in Middle and Upper Egypt.

When they have a problem, or if they are sick, the people drink some holy water blessed in church by the priests.

There are some places with wells containing water considered by the Copts to be holy and healing water, for example, near some churches named above or outside the Church of Saint Iskhiron of Qallin, near Samalut, which heals stomach and other pains.

Bishop Raphael said: "In spiritual life, the main three things are: prayer, reading and study of the Bible, as well as fasting."

In the Coptic Church, the following fasts are observed, altogether more than 200 days: of Christmas (43 days, which include three days of commemoration of the Muqattam wonder); of Jonah (three days, on the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, two weeks before Lent, reminding of Jonah's three days in the whale's belly, Jonah 3:5-7); of Great Lent including the fast of Heraclius (one week before Lent), of Lent (six weeks), plus one week for the Holy Week; of the Apostles (from the Monday following the Sunday of Pentecost until the Feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul on July 12/Abib 5, that is between 15 to 49 days depending on the date of Easter); of the Assumption of the Virgin (15 days before August 22/Misra 16); and every Wednesday and Friday, except from Easter until Pentecost.

During the fasting seasons and days no animal products such as meat, dairy food (butter, milk, cheese, eggs) can be consumed. However fish is allowed, except on Wednesdays and Fridays, during the fast of Jonah and during Lent. A fast of nine hours should be kept before taking the Holy Eucharist.

Fasting food for lay people and monastics is based on beans, lentil soup, vegetables, fruits, olives and bread. This rigorous fasting must be understood as a means of purification. During a Lent weekly talk, Pope Shenouda gave this advice: "One must understand the spirituality of fasting. The period of fast must make you change something in your habits. The abstention from food is undertaken according to each person's abilities. Everyone should at least reduce the quantity and quality of food, as to eat too much shows lack of self control. There should be no addiction, for example by eating your favourite food, even if it is fasting food. There should also be control over our tongue

and how we speak over our ears and what we listen to. All these are exercises to control oneself."

Fasting can be more strict in monasteries. Thus monks and hermits can fast for several days, as one is less alert for spiritual exercises if eating, talking or even sleeping too much.

Father Tadros Malaty of Alexandria, a spiritual father known by all Copts in Egypt and abroad, told me that, in spiritual life, his main concern and teaching is salvation through Christ, for everyone. The faithful should follow the exemplary Christian life of the saints. He emphasizes the living experience of applying the teaching of the Scriptures in daily life, in order for people to live in the way Christ taught us: "Our faith does not depend on miracles but on the Bible. Our spirituality is focused on the Bible, sacramental life and heavenly life. We must also study the writings of the Church Fathers and their theological, eschatological and spiritual thoughts."

Father Yuhanna Sabet of the Church of Hard al-Golf, Cairo, said: "Spiritual life is needed and feeds the human spirit by liturgical life, confession and communion. We call these the 'ways of grace': to read the Bible and spiritual books, to ask for guidance from the spiritual father, to attend spiritual meetings and to serve the Church and others. In short, to love God and show love to one's neighbours, which are the main commandments. To save one's soul, one should be in a good relation with God; love Him, trust Him, follow Him and serve Him."

There are many Copts, young and old, serving people in the Church and elsewhere as volunteers, either as laypeople, as Sunday school teachers, or as deacons and deaconesses. In fact, the Sunday school teachers are called Sunday school 'servants'. Those 'dedicated' or consecrated women and men, celibate deaconesses and deacons, serve the Church in many ways, socially and spiritually.

Father Antonius Amin said: " We become better through service to others and teaching them, we learn love and we can build our spiritual life, this is the way to grow in spiritual life."

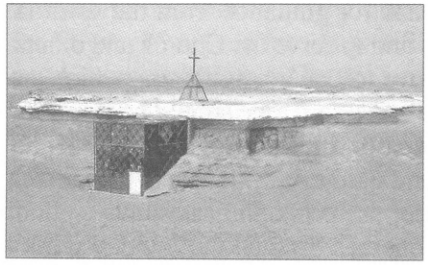
The quest for holiness can be experienced through the different ways described in this chapter by all, and not only by monks and nuns in their 'white martyrdom', that is in monastic life. Lay Copts like the spiritual atmosphere of the monasteries, which they visit to renew their spiritual strength by praying, visiting the saints, as well as by receiving spiritual words and advice from some monks and nuns.

Chapter 8

Monastic Life

Egypt is seen as the cradle of Christian monastic life. Monastic life has influenced the life and spirituality of the Coptic Church until now.

After the charismatic monk Mina, which was his monastic name, was consecrated as Patriarch Cyril VI in 1959, he said that his priority was to re-organize monastic life, because the whole life of the Church depends on the prayers said in the monasteries. At that time the monks were few and most of them old. Within a few decades, the main monasteries and convents were enlarged, modernised and repopulated with many young monks and nuns, most of them trained in university. How did that become possible?



Even before becoming Patriarch, Father Mina had gained a deep spiritual experience after living for years as a hermit in a cave near the Monastery of Baramus and later in an abandoned windmill in Muqattam, near Old Cairo. When he was living in the Church of Saint Menas in Old Cairo, Father Mina was the spiritual father of many university students and he attracted some of the university graduates to enter monastic life. E. Watkin said of him: " Not only did a monk become a Patriarch, but the Patriarch has remained a monk. "

Anba Theophilus (d. 1989), who was the hegumen of the Monastery of the Syrians since 1948, welcomed many of this new generation of novices.

Among them was the present Patriarch Shenouda III who also

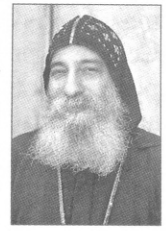
lived as a hermit in a cave in Wadi al-Natrun. Since 1971, as Patriarch, he continues to organize the development of the monasteries and the convents.

In the convents, some abbesses played a part in the renewal of feminine monastic life since the end of the 1950s.

One hermit who came from Ethiopia, Abd al-Masih al-Habashi, should be mentioned as he was of great inspiration to numerous Coptic monks as being a figure of extreme solitary asceticism in modern times. From 1935 to 1970, he lived in a cave, about 4 km from the Monastery of Baramus.

The word 'monk' (from the Greek *monos*), means 'alone' that is, in our context, 'alone before God', even while living in community with other monks. A hermit (in Greek *erimitis*), is leading a life of prayer and ascetism in actual solitude, in a lonely, isolated place or in the desert.

From the time of Saint Antony, in addition to prayer and work, the three monastic vows were celibacy in chastity, poverty and obedience. This was summarized for me by the hegumen of the Monastery of Saint Pachomius in Luxor, Father Angelus, in these few words: " The monk detaches himself from all, in order to be attached to God. He lives a life of purity, holiness and prayer. The monk should consecrate all his life, in every detail, to Christ, especially by praying. And through his prayer he can help the world. Besides this, the monk has to work."



To Evagrius of Pontus, who came from Constantinople to Egypt and lived as a hermit in the Kellia from 385 to his death in 399, is attributed the naming of the 'eight evil thoughts' (*logismoi*): gluttony, fornication, avarice, grief, anger, vain-glory, pride and accidie (Greek *akedia*), a lethargic disgust for spiritual effort.

In order to overcome these 'demonic thoughts' or 'passions', the monk or hermit has to fight on a bodily and a spiritual level. The fight consists in purifying the soul's passions by ascetic life: through

the self-discipline of fasting, restricting food and sleep, standing in prayer for hours, observing the prayer rule, by watchfulness over the thoughts and discernment and also by the exercise of the virtues: faith, fear of God, abstinence, perseverance, hope and impassibility. The goal is spiritual ascension.

Consequently virtues must be developed such as vigilance, patience, self denial or death to self, forgiveness and, the most important one, humility, which may be found through monastic obedience. Humility will lead to repentance, compunction and tears (*penthos*).

Through solitude (*hesychia*), these 'exercises' may lead, with the grace of the Holy Spirit, to inner tranquillity or peace of heart (*apatheia*) which develops love for all humankind (*agape*). The state of passionlessness (*apatheia*) allows contemplation (*theoria*) or pure prayer (prayer without mental images) also called 'experience of God' (*theologia*).

The monk or nun may reach a kind of transformation into holiness, or 'transfiguration', sometimes even seen through a kind of radiance on the face.

The closer human beings come towards God, the more they feel themselves to be sinners.

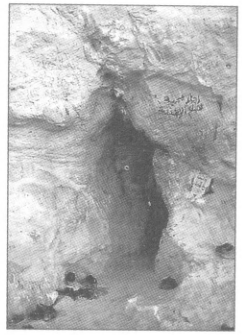
In fact, the main thing is to remember God all the time, in particular through the reading of the Scriptures and in meditation, and by trying to do everything as in the presence of God. The so-called 'fear of God' must be understood as a constant memory of God or loving respect. Ceaseless prayer is the main instrument of the spiritual fight.

In order to make progress in spiritual life, one must ask advice of a spiritual father (usually an elder) who has experience and discernment.

The ancient desert fathers received visits from other hermits, and also from lay people, who used to come and ask some 'words' for their spiritual life and salvation. Some of them were kept and they are called the *Sayings of the Desert Fathers* (*Apophthegmata Patrum*). To read the *Apophthegmata* is the best way to understand the life and spirituality of the first ascetics in Egypt and their quest to reach holiness.

History

Here is a short summary of the development of the main monasteries and of the first main historical monastic figures in Egypt.



The main eremitic figure, also regarded as 'the father of monks', is Saint Antony the Great (d. 356). After hearing the Gospel command (Matt. 19:21), to sell one's possessions and follow Christ in order to be rich in Heaven, he immediately obeyed, began an ascetic life and met other ascetics. He then dwelt in a tomb, and after that in a deserted fortress. Finally he settled in a cave on the Mount called Clysma, near today's Monastery of Saint Antony.

Another hermit, Saint Paul of Thebes (d. around 347) lived on the site of the present Monastery of Saint Paul, also by the Red Sea. The two saints met before Saint Paul died.

Hermits settled around Egypt: from north (around the Wadi al-Natrun, also known as Scetis) to south (around Thebes in the so-called Thebaid).

During the life time of Saint Antony, several semi-eremitic settlements were formed: in Nitria (about 15 km south of Damanhur); in the Kellia, that is 'the Cells' (18 km south of Nitria) and in the Wadi al-Natrun (about 40 km south of the Kellia). These places are situated mid-way between Cairo and Alexandria.

Nitria was founded around 330 by Amoun. From Nitria, the journey took about thirteen days to reach the cave of Saint Antony. Then some ascetics who wanted more solitude moved to the Kellia begun by Amoun in 338.

The Kellia are hermitages which were built between the 4th and 7th century, and abandoned in the 8th century. Amoung the famous ascetics of the Kellia, let us name Macarius of Alexandria (d. 394).

In the Scetis Valley, the first eremitic settlements date from around 330. One of the first and well-known hermits, Saint Macarius (d. 390), was a camel driver who used to come here to collect natron, a mineral used in ancient Egypt for embalming and cleaning, which gives its name to the area, the Valley of the Natron; he first lived as a hermit near the present site of the Monastery of Baramus; he then moved further away to where the monastery named after him is now. He was a disciple of Saint Antony and the spiritual master of Evagrius and of other desert fathers.

The desert fathers came from all origins, from Moses the Black,

a converted thief, to Arsenius, the previous tutor to Emperor Theodosius' sons.

Some hermits then gathered in lavra, a group of hermitages, the first organized communities which developed into monasteries.

By the end of the 4th century, four monastic communities had begun to exist in Wadi al-Natrun: the Monastery of the 'Romans', Maximus and Domatius, also called the Monastery of Baramus; the Monastery of Saint Macarius the Great and the Monastery of Saint Bishoi, all three still existing. The Monastery of Saint John Colobos (the Short), a disciple of Saint Macarius the Great and of Amoun of Nitria, was situated between the Monasteries of Saints Macarius and Bishoi until the end of the 15th century; then the last monks moved to Saint Macarius Monastery. Saint Bishoi used to live in a cave near the cell of John the Short to whom is attributed the book of the *Life of Saint Bishoi*.

It is assumed that the Monastery of the Syrians originated from Saint Bishoi Monastery; it was acquired by Syrian Orthodox Christians living in Egypt about 710. It was inhabited by Syrian Orthodox monks from the 8th to the 17th century, together with Coptic monks. In 1636, a Coptic abbot was installed.

Other monasteries, now destroyed, have existed in the Wadi al-Natrun, such as that of John Kame (9th cent.). After the destruction of this monastery, its monks moved in the 15th century to the Monastery of the Syrians (about 4 km away).

By the 12th century, there was a monastery of the Ethiopians (near the Monastery of Saint John Kame).

Ethiopian monks, on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, used to have a stop or reside in some Egyptian monasteries, for example in the Monastery of Muharraq.

Armenian monks also happened to live in Coptic monasteries, for example in the White Monastery near Asyut.

Wadi al-Natrun became and remained the centre of monastic life in this area.

In Upper Egypt communal monastic life began to be organized in the 320s by Saint Pachomius (d. 346), thus he is seen as the founder of cenobitic life, that is life in community. He first put himself under the guidance of an ascetic, Palamon. Later he organized monasteries: the first was in Tabennese; another one, in

Pbow (present Faw Qibli), became the central monastery where he and his successors lived. By his death, there were nine monasteries and two convents (situated between Qina and Nag Hammadi). The Pachomian monasteries were built not far from the Nile River and from the villages.

The other main figure of cenobitic monasticism is Saint Shenute (d. about 465). He became a monk in the large Monastery of Atripe, also called the White Monastery (Dair al-Abiad) in Upper Egypt (near modern Suhag), founded by his uncle Bigoul. He became its hegumen around 385. He imposed a rigorous discipline. His successor was Besa who wrote the book about Saint Shenute's life. Besa was followed by Zenobius. Some references to the abbots are found in *The History of the Patriarchs*.

In the 13th century, Abu Salih gives an interesting description of the monasteries in Egypt, and so, later, does Maqrizi (d. 1442). From the Mamluk period (1251-1517), ruin and desertion are acknowledged in the monasteries. Under the Ottomans (1517-1849), most of the monasteries were abandoned.

It is said that Saint Antony put his sister in a house of virgin women (*Life* 1:3). Convents were organized from the times of Saints Pachomius and Shenute. The first organized convent for nuns was near Tabennese and it was headed by Pachomius' sister. There was also a convent near the White Monastery (5th cent.). We have little information about nuns in history but it is known that they were living mostly in the towns, for security reasons. It was only at the beginning of Christianity that a few women were living as hermits in the desert. Such women hermits or 'desert mothers' (such as Sarah, Syncletica, Hilaria, Theodora, Marina and Mary of Egypt) are mentioned in the *Apophthegmata* and other books. In the 13th century, Abu al-Makarim mentioned several nunneries. At that time, in the Convent of Saint George in Harat Zuwayla (Cairo), Mother Efrusina (1228-1308) was a well-known hegumenissa (or abbess).

In the 14th century, Patriarch Matthew the Poor (1378-1408) mentions convents. In the 15th century, Maqrizi numbers five convents

in Cairo. At the end of the 17th century, the traveller Vansleb reported one convent in Cairo.

Past Organization

As recommended by Saint Antony, the monks had to work. The first desert fathers used to have a simple manual handwork which they could do while praying, for example weaving baskets and mats.

When semi-eremitic life began to be practised, the hermits lived and prayed alone, in separate cells or caves, and they gathered for the night offices followed by the Sunday or feast Liturgy and a common meal.

In the Kellia, each hermitage, surrounded by a wall, had several rooms (for prayer, for work, for sleeping, plus a kitchen, a store room and a visiting room) for the hermit or elder and sometimes his disciples, with a yard, a small garden and a well.

In the Pachomian monasteries, there was a hegumen assisted by a second and a steward. Cells were arranged in 'houses' (about thirty to forty in one monastery), each one with a superior and about forty monks doing together the same type of work. In each house specific works were performed (preparation of food, care of the sick, reception of visitors, etc); all kinds of handicrafts (tailoring, metalwork, carpentry, etc) were practised, as well as work in the vegetable gardens and grain harvest. Some monks were selling some produce of the monastery.

The daily timetable began with the morning prayers. In the evening, there was a period of instruction, a brief community prayer, followed by a night of vigil. Twice a year, Easter and August, for administrative reckoning, the monks used to meet in the central monastery at Pbow.

The first hermits ate once a day. It was very simple food: bread, some cooked food (like lentils, beans) and some vegetables. A weekly supply of food was taken back to the cell after the Sunday Liturgy. Some ascetics used to eat uncooked food or hardly any food, specially during the Great Lent.

The Pachomian monks had two meals a day, the main meal with a lighter one in the evening. The food, consisting mostly of bread and vegetables, was eaten in silence.

The desert fathers wore a sleeveless tunic, a belt or girdle, a hood

or cowl (*koukle*), a mantle of animal skin (*melote*), sandals and some, a scapular (*skhema*).The most ascetic hermits just wore a tunic of skins or of palm fibre.

The *Rules* written by Saint Pachomius and his disciples and by Saint Shenute give the detailed organization of their monasteries.

In order to be able to pray and work at the same time, without being distracted outwardly or inwardly, and in order 'to fight the thoughts', it is necessary to concentrate on a short, repeated and powerful prayer. It is called the 'Jesus Prayer', ("Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy on me"), with possible small changes and additions. It goes back to the earliest Desert Fathers' tradition.

Present Organization

Nowadays, the life of both monks, nuns and hermits still is centred on prayer. They still follow the advice of Saint Antony to do some manual work.

Contemporary monks and nuns work without speaking. During their work, monks and nuns may listen to tapes, with texts of the Bible or Psalms or spiritual talks. But mostly they recite the 'Jesus Prayer', just mentioned, with possible variantes, in Arabic: " Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy on me " (*Ya Rabbi Yasu al-Masih irhamni*); " Lord Jesus Christ, help me " (*Ya Rabbi Yasu al-Masih a'inni*); " Lord Jesus Christ, deliver me " (*Ya Rabbi Yasu al-Masih khallisni*) with possible small changes and additions. This continuous prayer is repeated silently or in a low voice.

Nowadays the heads of the large monasteries are bishops. The second is the steward (*robeta*) who takes care of the practical daily life of the monastery (food of the monks, health, etc).

Each monk has specific duties. Some monks do manual work in the fields and farms (vegetable and fruit gardens, cattle, poultry, fish ponds), and in the workshops, such as carpentry. Some work in the kitchen, in the library, as gate keeper, as guide for the visitors. Some who were medical doctors and pharmacists may help if there is a small clinic for monks and for workers in the monastery; the same happens with previous engineers for making and repairing buildings. Some who are priests are asked to serve in parishes in Egypt and abroad. A few monks copy manuscripts. Some monks and nuns take care of elderly monks and nuns. Some monks and nuns paint icons

and make leather crosses. Nuns' work consists mostly in needlework: sewing clothes and liturgical vestments, and embroidery.

Nowadays, monks wear the Egyptian tunic (*galabeya*), in black. The novices wear a white one and a white skullcap. Coptic monks, and nowadays also nuns, wear the black hood (*qalansuwa*) divided in two parts of cloth sewn together, with thirteen crosses embroidered symbolising the twelve Apostles and Christ. The nuns also wear a long black veil on top, as well as long black robes.

As far as the monastic organization, it is as follows. This general timetable is more or less the same in most of the monasteries and convents: some pray in their cells before 4 a.m.; at 4 a.m. (maybe 3 a.m. on Sundays and Feasts), prayer in common in church, the Hours (*Agbiya*) and the Psalmody (*Tasbeha*). These prayers, lasting about two and half hours, are followed by the Divine Liturgy; then work all morning until 2 p.m. or later. Vespers in church about 4 p.m. in Winter and 5 p.m. in Summer.

The Psalms are distributed so that one monastic goes from one to another of those present giving them the opening words of each Psalm to be recited. This system allows for praying all the Psalms at one time.

The Prayers of the Hours (*Agbiya*) must be completed individually by each monk and nun daily: what is not done before going to church in the morning must be prayed during the day or at latest before sleeping. During the day, some may recite the Hours in the place where they work; or in their cell as some may be given permission to stay there and do so.

Each monk and nun has his and her own rule of prayer and life (*qanon ruhi*) which is given by the spiritual father, for example: for the quantity of food, for work, for the reading of spiritual books; and, in the cell, for the individual prayers especially during the night (before sleeping, at midnight and early morning), for the number of Psalms to be read individually, and for the number of prostrations to the ground (*metania*).

Outside fasting days, there are usually two meals (about 9 a.m. and about 6 p.m. or after vespers). During Great Lent, the first meal is taken after the Liturgy, about 3 p.m. or later.

The basic food is bread, rice, pasta, cooked beans (*foul*), lentils and vegetables. It is strictly vegetarian during Lent and on fasting days.

In other times non vegetarian food may be eaten.

The Rules of Saint Pachomius for strict cenobitic or communal life followed in his time (prayer, work and meals in common) are followed only partly today: for example, there are few meals in common (usually only on Sunday, or even less often, and not in all monasteries and convents). During meals in common, spiritual reading is heard, mostly of *The Garden of the Fathers* (*Bustan al-Ruhban*). Otherwise the monks get their food from the kitchen and some cook for themselves in their cell. So, without being hermits, some monks and nuns may eat alone in their cell; some may also make the prayers usually made in church in their cell and they may even work in their cell. Such specific rules may be applied to the whole monastery or convent, or they are given by the spiritual father to a specific monk or nun. This means that there is a tendency to idiorrythmic or semi-eremitic life. The major monastic rules have to be kept by all monks and nuns.

This combination of cenobitic and idiorrythmic life allows monasticism to adapt to all temperaments as well as to the physical and spiritual capacities of each monk and nun and of each novice. The noviciate is usually of one to three years. The spiritual father is either chosen by the monk or novice themselves or by the abbot of the monastery. In convents, usually the spiritual father and confessor is the same for all the nuns; the mother superior, or hegumenissa, is also assisting the nuns' spiritual life.

Some monks may have an inner and spiritual call to live as hermits, either outside the monastery in small buildings and sometimes in caves, or in seclusion in their cell. This is possible only if the monk has acquired a serious experience of monastic life in the community and has a very balanced personality; he also needs a special permission.

Monastic Literature and Archaeology

Early texts on monasticism in Egypt influenced the monastic life in the Byzantine world, for example the Rules of Saint Basil. During his exiles, Saint Athanasius (326-373) went to Trier (now Germany) and Rome. His book, *The Life of Saint Antony*, was translated rapidly into Latin. The Rules by Saint Pachomius were translated

from Greek into Latin by Saint Jerome (404); this text became another of the major sources of the monastic life in the west together with the *Apophthegmata Patrum* and other texts about monastic life in Egypt. Saint Sophronius (7th cent.) wrote *The Life of Saint Mary of Egypt*, who died in the desert of Palestine. In the 5th century, in the Jura mountain (now France), some monks wanted to imitate Saint Antony (Life of Saint Romain 12, in *Vies des Pères du Jura*).

Among those who visited the Egyptian ascetics, some gave a fair idea of the lives of the desert fathers in the 4th and 5th centuries: Rufinus (d. 410) wrote *The History of the Monks* in Egypt; and Palladius (d. 431) wrote *The Lausiac History*. Saint John Cassian (d. 435) gave a remarkable testimony in *The Conferences* and *The Monastic Institutes*; he then founded two monasteries (5th cent.), one for men and one for women, in Marseilles (France).

Not only from the ancient texts but also from archaeology, we know that there were very numerous monasteries in all Egypt, from the Delta to Aswan, most of them founded from the 5th century.

Some can be seen as ruins, such as the Monastery of Saint Jeremiah in Saqqara, south of Cairo (remains in the Coptic Museum in Cairo). Near the ancient Thebes, opposite Luxor, remains of some ancient monasteries can be seen in the pharaonic sites, for example: Dair al-Bahari, the Monastery of Saints Cyriacus and Epiphanius, and the Monastery of Phoebammon. In the Western Desert, until Kharga in the south, some Coptic archaeological vestiges of churches and monasteries are kept in the five oases. Other monastic settlements remain hidden under the sand.

With the construction of the Dam in Aswan (1960), many ancient Christian sites disappeared under the water in ancient Nubia (southern Egypt and northern Sudan). In northern Sudan, one can only find ruined monasteries today.

In 1964, Professor Guillaumont rediscovered the site of the Kellia. Until 1989, the French and Swiss archaeological missions worked there. Since then, because the Egyptian government had planned agrarian reform and irrigation, this area of about one hundred square kilometres of the history of ancient monachism has nearly disappeared.

As for the present archaeological Coptic excavations, some

foreign missions are working such as in Fayyum or in the Monastery of Saint Apollo at Bawit (about 14 km west of Dairut, with remains in the Louvre Museum in Paris).

The monasteries were organized in different topographical contexts: sand and hills in the Wadi al-Natrun, mountains on the Red Sea coast, near the Nile and in villages (Pachomian monasteries). The first hermits dwelt in caves along the Nile and elsewhere, and even in abandoned Pharaonic tombs, for example between Bani Hasan and Nag Hammadi; in cells made of bricks (Kellia); and also in cells cut under the ground: in Isna hermitages are dug in stone.

Visit to the Monasteries by Geographical Order

A short account will now be given of the monasteries and convents where monks and nuns were living in 2003-4. From these, some of the largest and historical monasteries and convents, about sixty, have been recognized formally by the Patriarch and the Holy Synod, as well as some other well organized ones (re-activated or new). The other monasteries are still being organized. The total number of monasteries and convents may change soon as monastic places continue to grow in Egypt and abroad. The same can be said for the number of monks and nuns.

For more historical and architectural details on ancient monasteries, including the ruined ones, see the relevant articles in the *Coptic Encyclopedia* and in my bibliography, in particular the many books and articles written by Otto Meinardus about the history of the monasteries and about the life of monastic communities in the last decades.

The monasteries are usually closed for visitors during Lent before Easter and some also during the fast before Christmas. Visits are usually allowed between 9 a.m. and 5 p.m. For other information, ask in the Patriarchate.

The large monasteries have residences with offices (*maqar*) in Cairo, in Clot-Bey, around the ancient Patriarchal grounds and the Old Cathedral of Saint Mark.

In the Wadi al-Natrun are four of the ancient monasteries which can be reached by the Desert Road going from Cairo (105 km) to Alexandria (about 120 km) until the Rest House, except for the Monastery of Saint Macarius (the turn for which is 14 km before

the rest house, coming from Cairo, then 3 km until the gate of the monastery). The direct distance as the crow flies between Saint Macarius Monastery and Saint Bishoi Monastery is 15 km (no road). For Wadi al-Natrun, the access from Cairo is possible by bus to the village of Bir Houkr, then by local transportation.

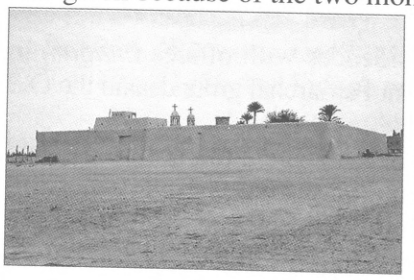
These monasteries, which were still in full desert some decades ago, can now be reached on asphalt road and not any longer on the back of a camel or donkey, as in the past.

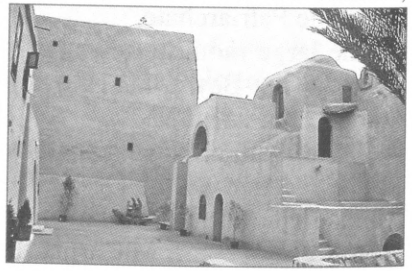
These ancient monasteries are enclosed by high walls which used to protect the monks, in the past, from raids. The keeps (*qasr*) were also places of refuge and for food storage, with several chapels and a drawbridge. Some ancient refectories can be seen with the stone lectern from which readings were made during the meals: along the long tables the novices would sit on one side and the elders on the opposite side, in order not to compare their different quantities of food. Some ancient grinding wheels are also kept. Such fortified monasteries are also found elsewhere around Egypt. Splendid wall paintings have been discovered and restored in several monasteries.

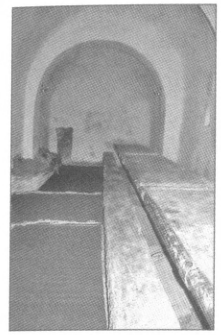
In the last decades, the monks have built several modern buildings as well as new walls, in order to delimitate the land of the monasteries inside which they now have agricultural work. Today almost all the previous desert around the monasteries is being cultivated by lay farmers.

For practical reasons, in order to help the traveller to ask for the way, the name of the monastery will be first given in English, followed by the name in Arabic phonetics.

The Monastery of the 'Romans', or Dair al-Baramus, (14 km from the Rest House), dedicated to the Virgin, is the earliest monastic site in Wadi al-Natrun. The name of the 'Romans' was given because of the two monk saints, Maximus and Domitius,







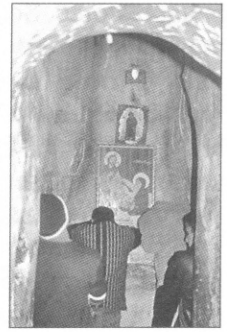
said to be the sons of the Roman Emperor of the west, Valentine I (364-75). The monks say that their bodies are kept in the ancient Church of the Virgin, under the altar. The relics of Saint Moses the Black (d. 407), a thief who converted and also became a monk here, and those of his spiritual father, Saint Isidore, are kept in the ancient church of the Virgin (near the sanctuary, left). There are wall paintings. In 2004, there were about a hundred monks and five hermits.

Feasts: Saints Maximus and Domitius (January 25); Saint Moses the Black (July 1); Saint Arsenius (May 21).

The cave where the late Pope Cyril VI had lived is about two km from the monastery. For protection, it is closed. From there, in 2004, there was still a view on the desert allowing one to meditate on the ancient life of the Desert Fathers.

Father Philopater, the steward, said that what is most important in monastic life is to detach oneself from everything and to be attached to the Only One, God. Then only can monks begin a prayer life. The love of God and attachment to Him make the monk a stranger to the world. First of all, the monks have to obey God.

The bishop of the monastery, Anba Isidorus, is very flexible and welcomes everyone. He always repeats to the monks to love everyone, even if someone says bad things about you: this attitude will allow your daily life to be peaceful. He also says that to be faithful to prayer will fortify your life with God.



From Baramus Monastery, after 9 km turn right (or, from the Rest House, after 7 km turn left), then drive 5 km to reach the Monastery of Saint Bishoi/Dair Anba Bishoi, a saint of the 4th century. The relics of Saint Bishoi and of Saint Paul of Tammua are found in the church dedicated to Saint Bishoi. There are about 160 monks, including hermits.

Feast: Saint Bishoi (July 15).

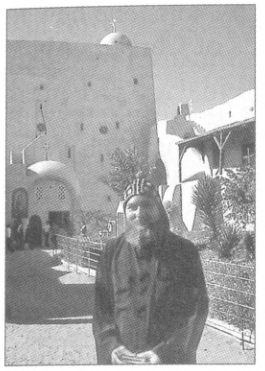
Father Theodore, the monk in charge of receiving the guests in the monastery, said: " We have to pray for every creature in the world, even the smallest ones. If people

receive the peace promised and sent by God, which is not of this world, then they start to feel the presence of God. The monks left everything of the world behind because they have found everything in the monastery, that is life with God. When we become monks we even change our names in order to begin a new life. We monks have to be models for the outside world. We have to guide spiritually our many visitors. Every good thing comes from God. We try to follow God's will with the help of the spiritual father to whom we confess everything and he will guide us: he is responsible for us in front of God. Before doing anything you have to pray. You have to be patient, to understand what is good for you. You also hear the voice of God when hearing or reading His Word from the Bible. Like Saint Bishoi, our patron saint, we have to wash the feet and carry the burdens of others, as to serve others is to serve God Himself. Just try and practise this day by day. "

The entrance of the Monastery of the Syrians/Dair al-Suryan, dedicated to the Virgin, is situated 500 metres from the Monastery of Saint Bishoi (more than 140 monks from whom about 40 in seclusion). At the beginning of the 8th century, the monastery was used by monks of the Syrian Orthodox Church, that is from the sister Church of Antioch. The first Syrian Orthodox monks were Matthew and Abraham of Tekrit (present Iraq). Syrian and Coptic monks have lived together, with predominance of the Syrian Orthodox. Around 1636, a Coptic abbot was installed.

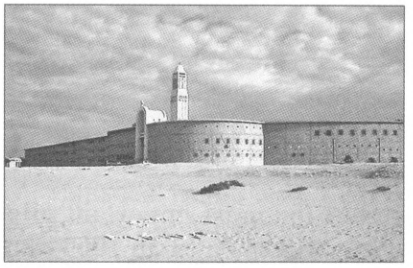
In the ancient large Church of the Virgin, the sanctuary doors are beautifully decorated with ivory-inlaid panels. Wall paintings are being restored. Some inscriptions, including in Syriac, are found on the walls. At the west end of the church, the tiny prayer place of Saint Bishoi is shown with a hook into the ceiling to which it is said that the saint would tie his hair to prevent him falling asleep during his long prayers. Relics of Saint John Kame (9th cent.) and of other saints are kept here, including relics said to be of Saint Ephrem the Syrian. In the monastery, there is one tree called 'of Saint Ephrem the Syrian'. Some of the monastic cells are found in the garden which is adjacent to the grounds of the Monastery of Saint Bishoi. A small museum is being prepared.

Feasts: Assumption of the Virgin (August 22); Saint John Kame (January 2).

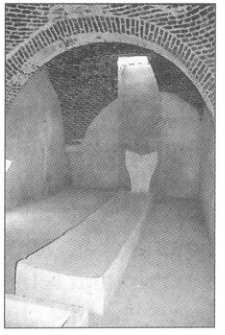


A monk, Father Victor, just said: " Love has no end (1 Cor. 13:8). Pray: 'Jesus save me'. With this prayer Jesus will help you all the time. "

The Monastery of Saint Macarius /Dair Anba Maqar was founded by Saint Macarius the Great.



The contemporary restoration of the monastery began after Father Matta al-Maskin was asked by Patriarch Cyril VI, in 1969, to revive the place. There are three ancient churches. In the Church of Saint Macarius are kept the relics of the three saints called Macarius. The relics of Saint John the Baptist and those of the Prophet Elisha are kept in the same church. Wall paintings in the sanctuaries. In the Church of Saint Iskhiron of Qallin are kept the relics of Saint John the Short or John Colobos (feast on October 30). Forty-nine monks, who were killed in the desert of Scetis in the 5th century by some Berbers, are buried in the church bearing their name (feast on February 3). Several relics of patriarchs are kept here as the monastery has been used as a patriarchal residence.



In 2004, there were 110 monks and 5 hermits (2 outside the monastery and 3 inside in seclusion).

The main feast (August 25) is for the translation of the relics of Saint Macarius to the monastery; death of Saint Macarius the Great (April 5).

From 1960, for nearly ten years, Father Matta al-Maskin and eleven disciples retired as hermits in the Wadi al-Rayan, (about 60 km from the Monastery of Saint Samuel, and about 50 km south of the town of Madinat al-Fayyum. They lived in the utmost simplicity following the life of the first Desert Fathers. Since 1997, some monks and novices led by a monk have gone back to live in Wadi al-Rayan.

When Father Matta al-Maskin was asked by someone how to save one's soul, he answered with these words of Christ: " Abide in Me and I abide in you (John 15: 4). "

The Monastery of Saint Menas/Anba Mina (80 monks) is situated about 85 km south west of Alexandria (mini bus from Moharabek Station in Alexandria to the village of Ibshanadi). It was the most important pilgrimage centre in Egypt until the early Middle Ages. In 1905, the German archaeologist Kaufmann discovered and excavated the site which was placed by UNESCO in 1979 as one of the five most important sites in Egypt. Since 1961, the German Archaeological Institute in Cairo has worked here. In 1959, Patriarch Cyril VI purchased land (100 acres). The foundation stone of the new monastery was put not far from the remains of the two ancient main churches which can be visited (about 2 km or half an hour walk from the new monastery). The relics of Saint Menas were buried in the place where the camel carrying his body stopped and refused to move further. Many healings were performed here. The first church was replaced by a larger one built by Emperors Arcadius and Honorius in the 5th century. The veneration of the saint spread all round the shores of the Mediterranean. The water of the ancient well had curative effects and was taken away by pilgrims in flasks. Some relics of Saint Menas are kept in the new cathedral consecrated in 2005 in his name. At the back of the cathedral, you can find the body of Pope Cyril VI (1902-72), brought here according to his will; and that of Anba Mina the late hegumen (from 1971 to 1996), with an exhibition of clothes and objects which belonged to both of them. Just outside the Monastery, one can see the remains of some ancient hermits' cells.

Feast: Saint Menas (24 November)

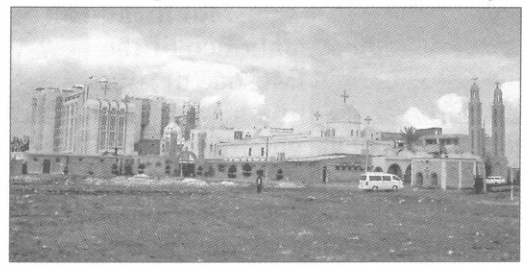
One monk, Father Epiphanius, said: " We feel that saints are all around us. We have to work hard, not to make money, but to go to Heaven, that is to work for eternal life, not for this temporary one. Pope Kyrillos VI used to tell the monks that through prayers they

will solve all their problems. Pope Kyrillos instructed seven monks who then transmitted his teaching to the younger monks, who themselves teach by their example how to relate to God, and love God and one another. People who come to the monastery feel peace and they go away with this peace. This happens because the saints whom people visit when they come to the monasteries carry our burdens. God works in our lives, but we also have to let Him work in us. We have to get purified and shining like gold after having been through fire. "

Around Alexandria, some monasteries which were important between the 5th and 9th century have vanished. Some were named after the milestones. The most famous was the Monastery of the Ennaton (that is at the ninth milestone), also known as Dair al-Zougag. In 2004, there was one monk staying there, in a small new building.

Several convents situated in Cairo have dependencies near Alexandria as will be explained below.

Near al-Khatatba (from Cairo 84 km on the desert road to Alexandria, then turn right 20 km), the Monastery of Saint George/Dair Mar Girgis, began to be built in 1983, by Bishop Bemwa (d. 2002). There is a farm (about 500 *feddans*) growing fruits and olive trees. The monastery was blessed in 1993, with the first group of monks ordained in 1995. From 2004, it is under Bishop Bula from Tanta who is the spiritual father of the monks (in 2004, 14 monks). Ninety cells are ready in forty-five small individual houses. A church, a baptistery and a guest house are being built outside the monastery.



Near Mansura (22 km) and close to Bilqas (10 km north) and Gamasa, is the Convent of Saint Damiana/Dair Sitt Dimyana. It was re-organized since the 1970s, with the consecration of the first nuns in 1978. There, Saint Damiana and forty virgins were leading a life of prayer in the 3rd century. As they refused to worship in a pagan way and to surrender their Christian faith, they were killed at the time of Diocletian. The relics of Saint Damiana and the Forty Virgins are kept behind a church altar, under

a dome. Today there are about fifty nuns. There is a retreat house for girls, and rooms near by for guests, families and youth, as well as a training house for deaconesses. There are dependencies in Alexandria and Cairo.

Two pilgrimages: one for the martyrdom of the saint (January 21), and the other for the consecration of the church built by Queen Saint Helen (May 20).

In Cairo, there are several convents.

The Convent of Saint George/Dair Mar Girgis in Old Cairo (metro station of Mar Girgis) is well-known, as the relics of Saint George and his chains can be venerated in the shrine under the convent. The late superior, Mother Yoanna (1980-2000), is buried there with the previous superior, Mother Kyrie (d. 1979) who began to renew the convent. In 2004, there were 65 nuns.

Feasts of Saint George of Cappadocia (May 1, July 23 and November 16).

There is a dependence near Khatatba.

One nun just said : " The aim of monastic life is to lead a life of holiness ".

Near by is the Convent of Saint Mercurius/Dair Abu Saifain where the relics of the saint are kept (coming from Old Cairo, walk in the direction of the city until you reach the entrance of the Mosque of Amr ibn al-As, turn to the left until the group of ancient Coptic churches in the Gama Amr Street: the convent is next to them). At the end of the 19th century, some travellers mention the Convent of Abu Safain in Cairo. At that time there was a well-known ascetic abbess, Safina (1850-1909). A new convent was built in 1913 to which many new buildings have been added recently (130 nuns). Since 1962, Mother Irini is the superior; she organized a modern monastic life for women.

Feasts of Abu Safain's: the main for the martyrdom (December 4); translation of the relics of the saint to Cairo (June 16);

and consecration of the church after his name (August 1).

Since 1975, there is another dependent convent by the Mediterranean Sea (west Alexandria 39 km on Sidi Kreir road to Mersa Matruh).

In central Cairo, in the quarter known as Harat Zuwayla, (off Port Said Street, near the Catholic School of Saint Joseph, opposite the Franciscan Monastery), are found two convents situated next to the parish Church of the Virgin, and to a previous seat of the Patriarchate.

The Convent of the Virgin/Dair al-Adhra has another residence in Nubareya (80 km from Alexandria on the desert road, then turn left, 3 km). Since 1969 the hegumenissa is Mother Maryam (60 nuns).

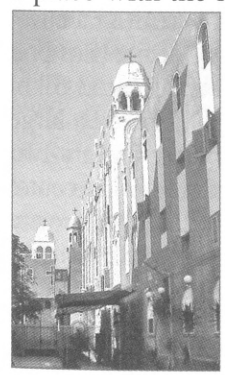
Main feasts: for the Virgin, Dissolver of the Iron Fetters (June 28); Saint Salib or Pistravros, martyr in the 16th century in Cairo, with relics in the convent (12 December).

Behind the Convent of the Virgin stands the Convent of Saint George/Dair Mar Girgis. The convent (40 nuns) was renovated under Mother Agapi (superior in 1961-98; see window with her objects). Since 1985, a new convent began to be established in Sidi Kreir (west Alexandria, 35 km), now with gardens and fishponds.

Mother Euphrosyne/Efrosina (1228-1308), a well-known hegumenissa (or abbess), is considered a saint as she has healing power. Her relics are found in the convents in Cairo and in Sidi Kreir.

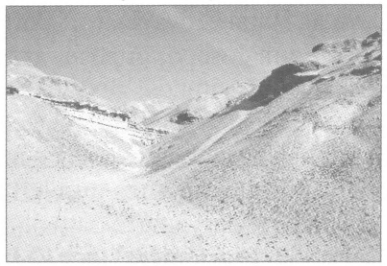
Feasts: death of Mother Efrosina (February 16); Consecration of the Church of Saint George the Cappadocian (16 November).

In the Muski district, (near al-Azhar Mosque and its University), in Harat al-Rum, near the Church of the Virgin (with, next to it, a place with the relics of Saint Marina), one finds the Convent of Saint Theodore Stratelates/Dair Amir Tadrus (about 60 nuns). There are found relics of Saint Theodore, Saint George and Saint Onuphrius or Nofr. From the water of the well of Saint Onophrius, people are cured. The restoration of the convent began at the end of the 1950s under Mother Martha (d. 1988) and it is continued by the present Mother Edrosis. The new Church of Amir Tadrus was consecrated in 1961. The monastery has two farms, one near Baramus Monastery and the other in Fayyum.



Feasts: Saint Theodore of Shutbi's death (July 27); Saint Onuphrius' death (June 23).

In the Fayyum area, there were about thirty five monasteries in the 8th century. Today most are in ruins and four are inhabited.



The Monastery of the Archangel Saint Gabriel/Dair al-Malak Ghubriyal (35 monks), is in Naqlun (near Qalamshah, 15 km south of Madinat al-Fayyum). From the 4th to the 6th century it was the spiritual centre of the Fayyum monasteries. In the 5th century, the first hermitages were cut in the soft rocky slopes of gullies near the monastery. Medieval wall paintings were discovered, as well as five complexes of hermitages, about eighty-nine caves dug in the rock in the nearby mountain. Many objects which were found in the hermitages (pottery, oil lamps, textiles, leather, glass, and documents) testimony of the lives of the hermits. Bodies found in 1991 are now exposed in a room next to the Church of Archangel Michael.

Feasts: consecration of the Church of Saint Gabriel (July 3) and feast of the martyrs (September 1).

Father Abd al-Masih al-Fayyumi was a monk of Saint Paul's Monastery, and he went to Naqlun in 1975 where he lived as a hermit in a cave, all by himself.

The Monastery of Anba Abraham/Dair al-Azab (situated 6 km on the road from Madinat al-Fayyum to Beni Suef), is now a large retreat centre and the residence of the bishop of Fayyum. Twenty-two deaconesses live here. There are also workshops and a training centre (wool tapestry, icon painting, bottled preserved food, etc). Here are kept the relics of Bishop Saint Abraham of the Fayyum (1829-1914).

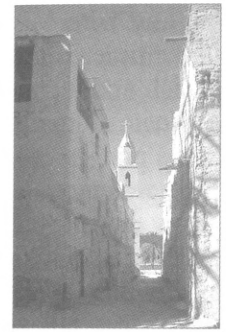
Pilgrimages: for the Assumption of the Virgin (August 15-22); and for the feast of Saint Abraham (June 10).

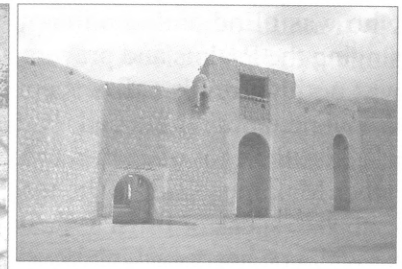
The Monastery of the Virgin and the Dove/Dair al-Adhra al-

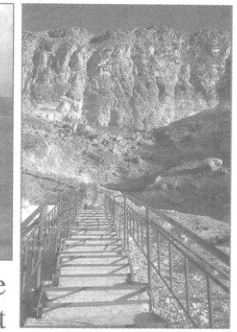
Hamam, about 8 km from the village of al-Lahun, is under the bishop of Fayyum (in 2004, one monk). It has been much renovated.

Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin (August 22).

South-east of Madinat al-Fayyum (about 25 km), the Monastery of Saint George/ Dair Mar Girgis at Sidmant is under the jurisdiction of Beni Suef (pilgrimage May 1).







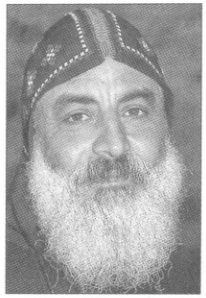
By the Red Sea, there are two monasteries, the most famous being that of Saint Antony Monastery/Dair Antonius (from Zafaran, go west for 33 km, then turn left, asphalt road for 14 km). Here a monastic community has existed since the time of the saint, in the second half of the 4th century. There are four churches and also some chapels. In the ancient Church of Saint Antony, one can see wall paintings of the 13th century, and earlier ones (6-7th cent.). It is said that Saint Antony was buried on the right side of the altar, outside. The relics of Saint Yusab, Metropolitan of Girga and Akhmim from 1735 to 1826 (feast on January 25) can be seen in the Church of the Apostles. Other relics are found: of Saint Mark the Monk (14-15th cent.) in the Church after his name; of the monk Yustus al-Antuni (1910-76) in a room between the Church of Saint Antony and that of the Apostles. Water spring.

Feast of Saint Antony (January 30).

It takes about forty-five minutes to climb by a stair to the cave of Saint Antony which is entered through a very narrow opening between two rocky cliffs. Other caves can be found around the monastery. In 2004, there were 110 monks and 7 hermits living near the monastery, inside the new wall and also outside it.

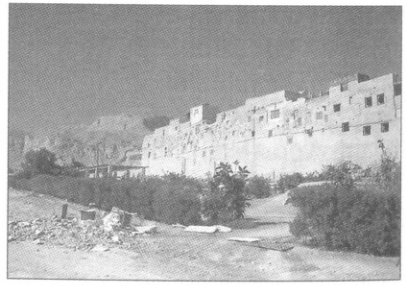
There are different ways to walk from Saint Antony to Saint Paul Monastery.

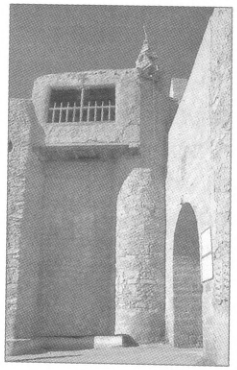
Father Maximus remembers that the first monk he saw when he



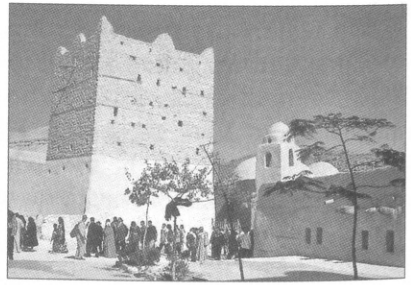
first visited the monastery was Father Yustus; he thought that if he had to become a monk, it would be here: " From his appearance you could understand that he was a very strong ascetic man. " Father Maximus remembers other old monks who have also passed away, like the old Father Maximus who was blind and handicapped, and who was singing the Psalms and prayers all the time. There was nothing in his cell, except a dish and a cup. He would pray for anyone entering his cell. Father Yustus himself would enter the cell, kiss the foot of Father Maximus and go out, without a word. Father Maximus said: " The teaching was more to see these old monks than to speak or listen to them. How they prayed and worked together with one heart: making bread, picking up olives, cleaning the church, the granary, preparing eucharistic wine, saying prayers (*salam*) by heart to Saint Antony; and also how they talked and got on together, how they loved and kept the ancient monastic tradition. If ever they quarrelled, they quickly came back to normal without bitterness and they continued life with clean hearts. The old monks were simple, humble, quiet. Passing in front of their cells, one could hear them praying. "

The Monastery of Saint Paul/Dair Anba Bula can be reached by car (about 45 minutes drive, 17 km south of Zafaran and then 13 km inside the mountain). There are four churches; one,





dedicated to Saint Paul (4th cent.), is in a kind of cave where Copts say that the saint hermit lived and where his remains are kept. There is



one water spring. As in Saint Antony's Monastery, there is a small garden inside the walls of the monastery with palm and olive trees and some vegetables. In 2004, there were 75 monks and 2 hermits. There are several caves in the mountains around, some still used by the monks.

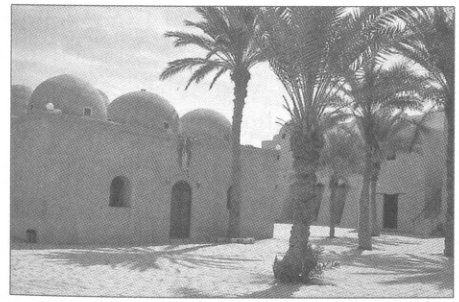
Feast of Saint Paul (February 9).

Father Surial goes to a cave for meditation. He said that in order to give inspiration to the novices and to make them appreciate a simple life, he invites them to come and stay by themselves in that cave. Another monk, Father Sarabamun, feels the blessing of living and praying in a cell where holy old monks have prayed before him for many years.

The two monasteries of Saint Antony and Saint Paul have a dependence in Bush, 20 km north-west of Beni Suef.

Also near Beni Suef, (about 40 km north, on the east bank of the Nile), is Dair al-Maymun, the place of the fortress, Pispir, where Saint Antony first lived as an anchorite before moving towards the Rea Sea to live in the cave. In the village of Maymun there are still two churches: one dedicated to Saint Antony (pilgrimage on January 30, feast of Saint Antony); and the smaller church, dedicated to Saint Mercurius, or Abu Safain. The population is 90% Christian (about 100 families). A monastery has existed here in the past.

Now, let us move to the Nile Valley, south.



North-west of Maghagha (55 km) is the Monastery of Saint Samuel/Dair Anba Samu'il, in the desert of Qalamun. Some twenty years ago, the monastery was still in full desert and there was no road to get there. Nowadays it can be easily reached from the new desert road coming from Cairo (through Fayyum). Historically, it is more connected to the Fayyum region. It was re-organized at the time of Saint Samuel of Qalamun (597-695) who lived here as a hermit. His cave can be seen 5 km from the monastery. There are three churches, as well as a cathedral under construction. The relics of Saint Samuel are in the church after his name.

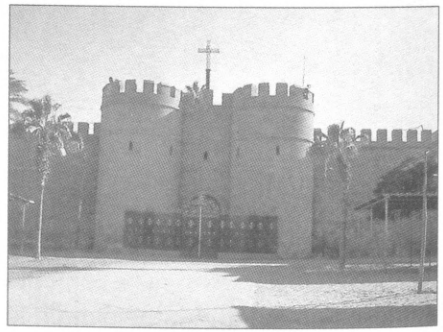
The monastery has remained uninhabited for about three hundred years, until 1898, when Father Isaac came from the Monastery of Baramus with ten monks to re-occupy the place. They discovered the relics of Saints Yustus and Apollo. The relics of Saint Samuel are in the Church of the Virgin. Near the church, the cell of a blind monk considered as holy, Father Andarawus (d.1988) can be visited (window with his pictures and some of his clothes). Next to it are kept relics: of Saint Bisada (in December 1976 some blood came out of his finger for about one year); and the complete body of Domitius, a monk of Baramus who came to the Monastery of Saint Samuel in 1898. The two monks happen to appear to the monks living here. There are new buildings and the monks do agricultural work.

One week pilgrimage with feast (17 December).

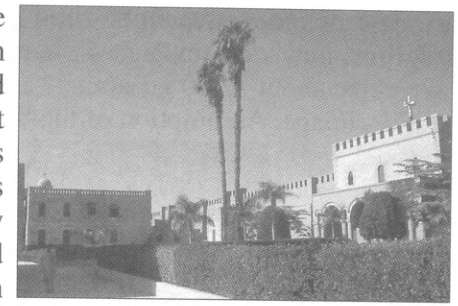
Near Samalut, on the east bank, on the top of a rocky cliff (Gabal al-Tayr), is the Monastery of the Virgin/Dair al-Adhra because the Virgin, according to Coptic tradition, visited the place. In the past, the place was reached by a pulley. It was a monastery; at least since the 18th century, the site was occupied by Coptic families.

Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin (August 22).

Near Mallawi, some famous ancient monastic sites are known. Two new monastic places have been organized by the present bishop, Demetrius: one for nuns in the village of Dair Abu Hinnis (east bank, 2 km south of Antinoe, about 30 km south of Minya), since 1997; and, since 1999, another one for monks, that of Saint Epiphanius, Apa Bane (Dair Abu Fanah), (west bank, near the desert, beyond the ruins of Hermopolis/Ashmunain, 10 km north-west of Mallawi) near the ancient monastic site which also was a pilgrimage place (today pilgrimage on March 4). The founder, Epiphanius, was a monk and hermit in the 4-5th century.



North of Asyut, (11 km from Qusiya), is the Monastery of al-Muharraq (125 monks). According to Coptic tradition, the monastery was visited by the Holy Family and therefore it is dedicated to the Virgin. The place is seen as a second Jerusalem. It is the most

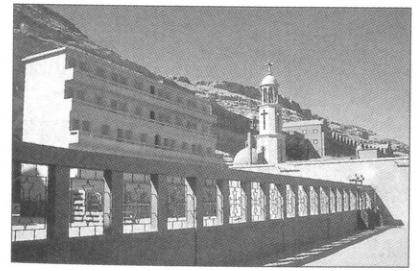


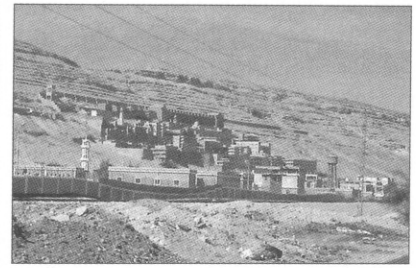
important monastery in Middle Egypt. There are seven churches. The keep and an old tower are found near the ancient Church of the Virgin. There was a tradition that Ethiopian monks would stop here on their way to Jerusalem and some would remain. The last two Ethiopian monks were residing here until the late 1980s. In the Church of Saint George there are relics of Saint Michael al-Buhayri (1847-1923). Large orchards around the monastery belong to it.

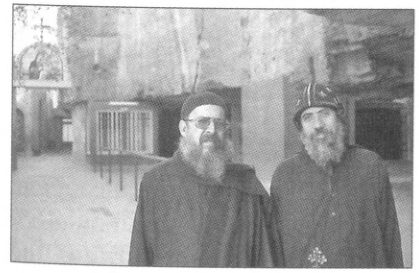
Main pilgrimage: consecration of the first church dedicated to the Virgin (28 June) and one week before; consecration of the church by Pope Theophilus (November 15).

Next to the monastery are a theological seminary and a school for learning Coptic Church music.

North-east of Asyut is a recently restored monastery, Dair al-Muallaq, the 'Hanging Monastery', also called Saint Menas Monastery, (east bank on top of the mountain, near Abnub) (about 30 km from Asiut), (about 20 monks).



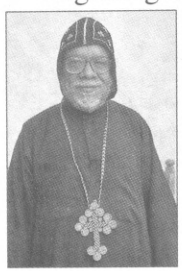


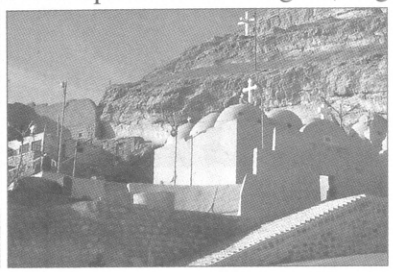


South-west of Asyut (7 km) is the Monastery of the Virgin/Dair Durunka, on a cliff, with ancient and large caves where there is a church (2 monks and 40 deaconesses). The Copts say that the Holy Family visited the place. The place was revived in

the last decades and since then it has been organized for the pilgrims, now with seven new churches and huge halls and hostels to receive about 2,000 guests.

Pilgrimage: Assumption of the Virgin (August 22).

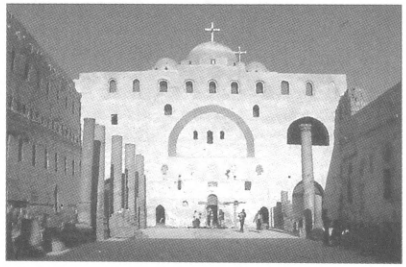


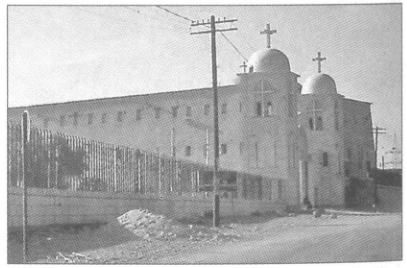


South of Asyut, (about 20 km, or about 17 km from Durunka), and west Tima, next to the little town of Sidfa, the Monastery of the Virgin, (2 km south of the village of Dair al-Ganadla) is visible from the main road, at the foot of a mountain. The Church of the Virgin is inside a rocky cave, with remains of paintings and inscriptions on the walls. Outside, there is the Church of Saints Peter and Paul, with cupolas. Saint Macrobius was a monk here and the founder here, and with other monks of other monasteries (6th cent.). He was the spiritual son of Moses, the founder of a famous monastery at Abydos. In 2003, one elderly monk lived here.

Feasts: consecration of the first Church of the Virgin at Philippi (June 28); Saint Macrobius (April 15).

Near Suhag, there are two importants monasteries (west bank): the White Monastery (6 km) and the Red Monastery (about 3 km further), so called because of the colours of the stones.

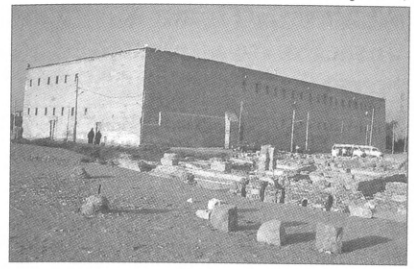




Around the present bulding of the White Monastery/Dair al-Abyad, numerous ruins of cells, kitchen and storehouses can be seen and they testify to the past importance of the monastery in the region. The monastery also bears the name of Saint Shenute (d. about 465) who became the head of the monastery after his uncle Bigol, the

founder of the place, died in 385. Some Armenian monks lived in the monastery in the 11-12th centuries. There are beautiful wall paintings in the Church of Saint Shenute.

Feast: Saint Shenute (July 14).



In a village near by is the Red Monastery/Dair al-Ahmar, also called the Monastery of Saint Bishoi. Some wall paintings.

Around Akhmim (east bank), there is a group of six monasteries, with monks, which look like fortresses where Christians used to come and take refuge at times of persecution.

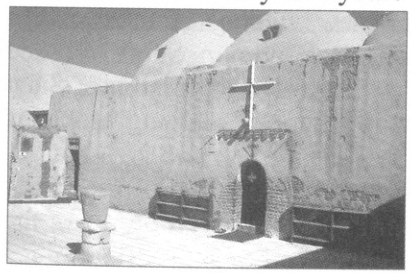
After crossing the Nile, from south to north you find the following monasteries:

Dair Anba Bisada (12 km south of Akhmim) where the relics of the bishop and martyr Bisada are venerated, (1 monk).

Feast of Saint Bisada (February 1).

Mar Girgis al-Hadidi, that is 'Saint George of the Iron' (3 monks).

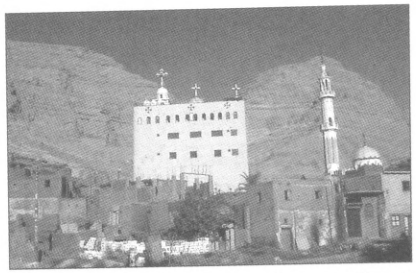
Dair al-Adhra, dedicated to the Virgin, with many relics, was restored about twenty five years ago, (6 monks).



The Monastery of the Martyrs/Dair al-Shuhada was built near a large Christian graveyard (7 monks). Relics of the martyrs can be seen in the church and some more in a special room outside and opposite the entrance of the monastery with twenty one bodies and seven skulls of men, women, and children. One can see skin on the leg and nails on toes, as well as teeth and hair.

Feasts: the 8140 Martyrs of Akhmim (January 9); martyrs Harwaj, Ananiyas and Khuzi of Akhmim (December 25).

The Monastery of the Archangel Michael/Dair al-Malak Mikha'il

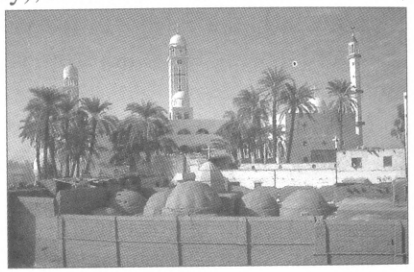


(feasts: November 21 and June 19).

The Monastery of Saint Thomas/Dair Mar Tuma (18 km from Suhag and 8 km north Akhmim), (1 monk). Many miracles are attributed to the hermit Saint Thomas (4-5th cent.) whose body is venerated here.

Opposite Girga, on the east bank, is the Monastery of the Archangel Michael/Dair al Malak Mikha'il, (2 monks). It was an ancient monastery (still two ancient churches), now with new buildings.

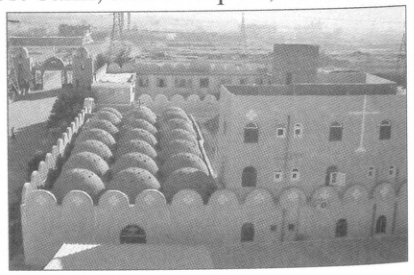
Near Nag Hammadi, (3 km away), is the Convent of Saint Bidaba, bishop of Qift, and martyr at Isna in the 3rd century. The Coptic tradition says that the old church was built by Queen Helena of Constantinople. Two nuns came here about forty years ago and others followed. Now there are six nuns whose main work is sewing Church items. The ancient church is surrounding by important new buildings (convent, retreat centre and a new church). One old nun, Sarah, is asked by many visitors to pray for the intercession of Saint Bidaba and many miracles happen, solving problems and healing sicknesses.



Feast: Saint Bidaba (26 July)

In Faw, now Qibli, some ruins of ancient church pillars of the time of Saint Pachomius can be seen.

South-west of Qina, on the west bank, near Naqada, one finds a group of seven monasteries, (area previously known by the Copts as the Mountain of Tsenti), each with one to three monks.

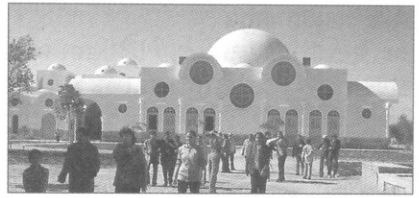


From north to south:

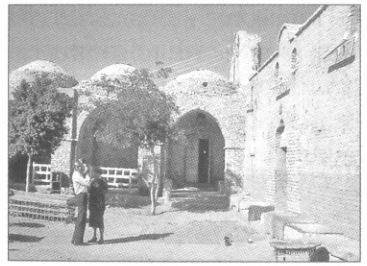
Saint George/Dair Mar Girgis in Maharusa village (20 km from Qina). It was a church where one monk settled in 1992. In 2004, there were one monk and two novices taking care of a retreat centre.

Feast: consecration of the Church of Saint George of Cappadocia (16 November).

After 5 km is Dair al-Malak Mikha'il, monastery dedicated to the Archangel Michael, where a large church has been built near the old one, with a retreat centre (2 monks).

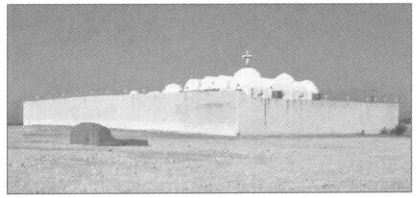


Near the village of Danfiq, there are two monasteries: Dair al-Salib, the Monastery of the Cross, with two churches, and Dair Abu Lif, also called the Monastery of Andrew, who was a friend of Pisentius and superior of the neighboring Dair al-Salib.

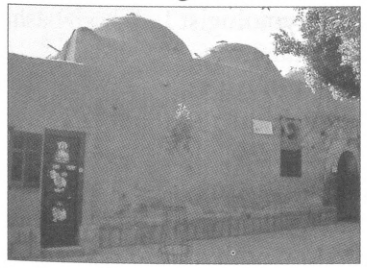


A little south (2 km), two monasteries stand next to each other: Mari Girgis Gabal, the Monastery of Saint George, also called al-Majma, is the largest of this area, with four churches; and the Monastery of Pisentius/Anba Bisentawos whose relics are said to be found under the main altar.

The next monastery, south, that of Saint Victor/Mar Buqtur, has the oldest buildings.



In Luxor diocese, after Bishop Ammonius began to be in charge in 1976, he re-organized some monasteries and convents. Today, around Luxor, there are monks and nuns living in six monasteries.



The Monastery of Saint Pachomius/Dair Anba Bakhum, called 'al Shayeb', that is 'the old man', is located about 10 km from Luxor (east bank), on the way to the airport. Next to the church, relics are kept of two bishops, Anba Mikha'il and Anba Mattewos, as well as of one

Ethiopian monk, Michael. The monastery was re-organized since 1976. In 2004, there were 25 monks whose activities were with agriculture (sheep, cheese), carpentry and a steel workshop.

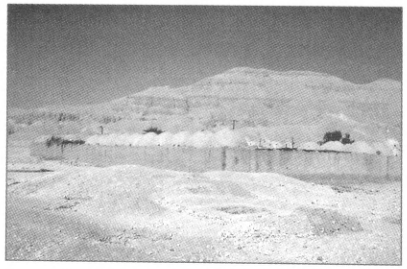
Feast of Saint Pachomius' death (May 22), now celebrated on Ascension day.

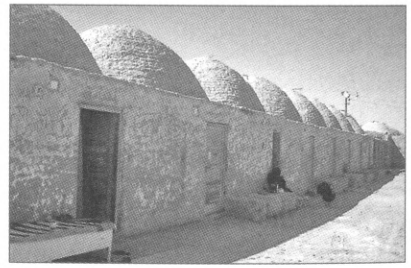
South of Luxor, (17 km, east bank), opposite a cemetery, is Dair al-Qedisin, that is of the two saints, Anba Bishai and Anba Pisentius/Bisentawos which was being re-organized by one monk in 2003. Saint Pisentius (568-635) was a monk in Thebes and became bishop of Qift. Saint Bishai was a hermit near Tod. Their relics are in the church.

Feast: Saint Bishai (January 3).

Also near Luxor, (on the west bank, after crossing the bridge), are some monasteries and convents, as follows, from north to south.

About 17 km north of Luxor (and 16 km south of Naqada), is the Monastery of Archangel Michael of the Well (Dair al-Malak Qamula).





About half kilometre from the temple of Madinat Habu (near the Queens' Valley), the Convent of Saint Theodore the Oriental the Fighter/Dair Tawadrus al-Muharib, is now inhabited by nuns (about 20). Near a wall is the tomb of the Egyptologist Labib Habashi (d. 1984).

Feast of Saint Theodore (January 20).

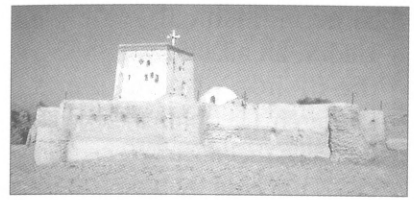
Near Armant is a little convent dedicated to the Virgin, Dair al-Adhra (5 nuns).

South of Luxor (20 km), and south-west of Armant, (west bank), the Monastery of Saint George/Dair Mar Girgis al-Rizaiqat (Dimiqrat) was re-occupied by monks since 1976, now with 45 monks. There

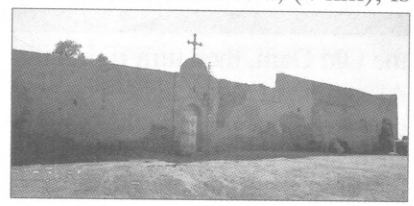
a miraculous icon of the saint is much venerated. Important pilgrimage one week before the feast of Saint George (16 November).

Near Isna, there is another group of one monastery and one convent.

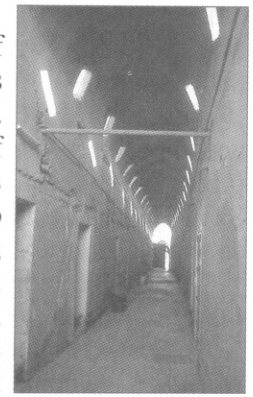
North of Isna, near the desert, is Dair al-Fakhuri, that is of the Potter, Matthew, a hermit who is seen as having founded the place in the 8th century, (in 2003 with 3 monks). The ancient beautiful paintings are in a poor condition.

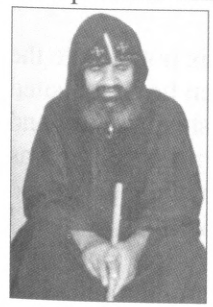


South-west of Isna, (4 km), is Dair al-Shuhada, that is of the 3600 Martyrs, which since the 1980s is inhabited by nuns (11). Under Decius (249-51), all Christians who had taken refuge here were killed. The main feast (December 23) is for the patron saint, Saint Ammonius, who was the bishop of Isna at the beginning of the 4th century and whom Copts see as the founder of the monastery. There are several ancient churches with relics and some wall paintings.



Near Idfu (about 5 km), the Monastery of Saint Pachomius/Dair Anba Bakhum, is situated at the edge of the desert (36 monks). The monks say that this monastery was one of the foundations of the saint and that his tomb is in the church, under a column, but there is no known relic of the saint. Behind the monastery, on top of the hill, pharaonic rooms are found.

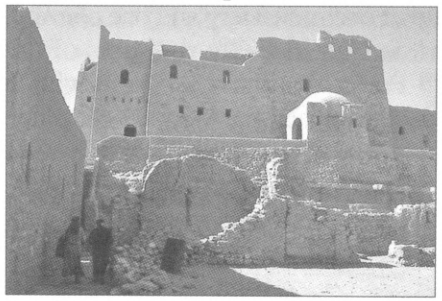




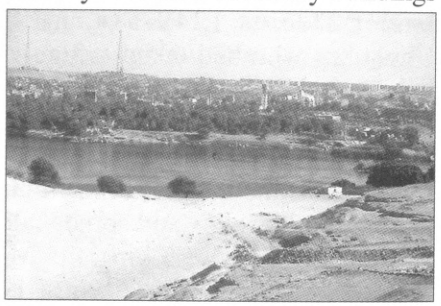
In 1960 a monk, Maximus, came and lived alone in the monastery (d. 1987). He liked to lead a silent life in his cell. At sunset he used to go to the desert, behind the hill. The last three years of his life he lived in a cave in the desert (4 km away). Today more cells are built there. From 1975, at the arrival of Bishop Hadra in Aswan, restorations of the monastery began.

Pilgrimage on the day of the death of Saint Pachomius (May 22).

There, Father Philopater said that the monks must, first of all, keep a monastic spirit in the heart.



In Aswan is the ancient and large Monastery of Saint Simeon, also called of Anba Hadra, an ascetic who became the bishop of Aswan under Patriarch Theophilus (385-412). To reach the place you can either cross the Nile by boat and walk uphill; by car, cross the bridge of the Old Dam, then turn right on new asphalt road in the desert facing Aswan, then to the right. The monastery is ruined but many buildings can still be seen inside the walls such as the keep, a church (some paintings), cells, a kitchen, an oven, a refectory and an oil press. The monastery seems to have been abandoned by the end of the 13th century. In 1910, the first excavations were made by the Germans.



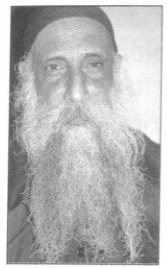
Next to it, the Coptic Church has bought a piece of land and a new monastery is being built which is also a retreat and conference place. Water must be brought from the Nile river. On the feast of Saint Hadra (December 21), the liturgy is celebrated in the ruined church of the ancient monastery.

The Coptic monasteries outside Egypt are listed in the chapter on the diaspora.

To leave the world or 'to be dead to the world' is not to hate the world, on the contrary. One monk told me that when he first visited the monastery as a layman, he was asked to first finish his studies and then work in the world, in order to clarify within himself that he was not fleeing from the world; and he was asked to show love to people in the world before being allowed to enter monastic life.

The development of spiritual life makes love and charity grow, as shown by the hospitality offered by many hermits and monks and nuns of the past and of today.

The monks follow that example and, with much patience and love, welcome all the pilgrims, Christians or not, coming to the monasteries, by offering food and by sharing prayer and spiritual advice.



Father Raphael of the Monastery of Saint Menas said: " Modernism has entered into daily monastic life (kitchen, computers, etc). But all the new technology should only be at the service of monastic life, not the contrary. New technology is all right, but there should be no fascination with it. First of all, the monk has to seek to return to the original sources of monastic life. It is the rôle of the spiritual father to show that way. The most important element in monastic life is asceticism: while eating, speaking, and also in the view of one's possessions, knowledge of others, etc. Asceticism must be experienced in every thing, but, first of all, one has to express a lot of love. " Mother Irini of the Convent of Abu Sefein said: " No, monasticism will not disappear until the end, because God will not expect the same as he did from the Desert Fathers. As long as the monastics have true love for each other, there will be monasticism. " Did Saint Pachomius not say: "This is the love of God, to have compassion for each other." And Saint Antony also said: " If we gain our brother, we gain God; if we scandalize our brother, we sin against Christ. "

Conclusion

Everyone who visits the Coptic parishes and monasteries, in Egypt and in the diaspora, will testify to their many activities, services and spiritual life.

As we have described, it is mostly in the parishes and monasteries that the Copts receive their spiritual strength and comfort. Copts remain very attached to their Church. For them, in many ways, the Church symbolizes their Coptic identity.

In his thesis, Dr Maurice Assad wrote: " The Coptic tradition is clearly a cultural heritage as well as a religious faith. The continuity of the Coptic identity depends upon the integrity of the cultural and the religious aspects of the Coptic tradition. "

In the last decades the Copts have reaffirmed their identity.

Throughout the centuries and until now, the Copts have been continuous and perseverant witnesses of the ancient Christianity in Egypt. The Copts do their best to keep their Church alive in Egypt and in the recent diaspora.

In 2002, there were six Copts in the Parliament, one was Mounir Abd al-Nour who made this comment: " My idea is not to defend the Copts, but to defend Egypt in its originality. If we let the Copts emigrate to the United States, and leave the Egyptian countryside for the towns and cities, the very character of the country will change. "

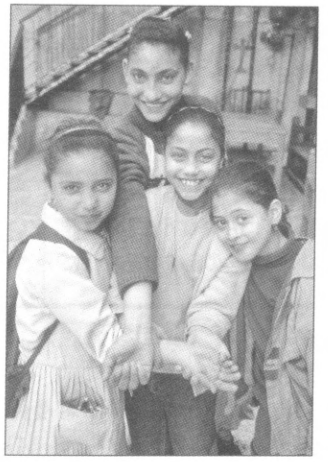
The Copts have complete faith and trust in God. A Coptic young lady from Cairo told me: " We love God so much and we feel that God blessed our Egypt. Until now we live here by his blessing. Until now and to the end of ages. "

Nobody knows what will be the future of the Christians in the Middle East and in Egypt. In an interview in 1988, Pope Shenouda said : " This is my rôle inside the Church: to defend the religious identity of the faithful and to let the foundations of our Church be respected. "

On December 22, 2004, Pope Shenouda said in his weekly talk: " God will solve what human beings cannot solve. God has a solution for each problem. If there are adversities in life, we get closer to God and then we see the hand of God at work, and we gain spiritual experiences. The more trials we have, the more we understand that what is impossible to human beings is possible to God. We have to face trials with inner peace. When we cannot solve a problem, we must put God between us and the problem. His mercy will bring a solution. God will be with us in all our difficulties. We trust in His protection. "

Father Antonios Amin of Saint Mark's Church in Heliopolis as a student was a spiritual son of Father Mina, the future Pope Cyril VI and he remembers: " Father Mina used to say that the pastor is a spiritual father who must serve with love. He said: 'Spiritual life is the model for all of life. A spiritual person faces problems with prayer. Don't face problems with the mind, but with prayer. The distance between your problem and the solution is like the distance between your knees and the ground: when you kneel down and pray, all the problems are solved.' "

Those who meet the Copts will be moved by their great piety and their gentle welcoming. To live with the Copts, even for a short while, is a lesson in Christianity.



Coptic Alphabet

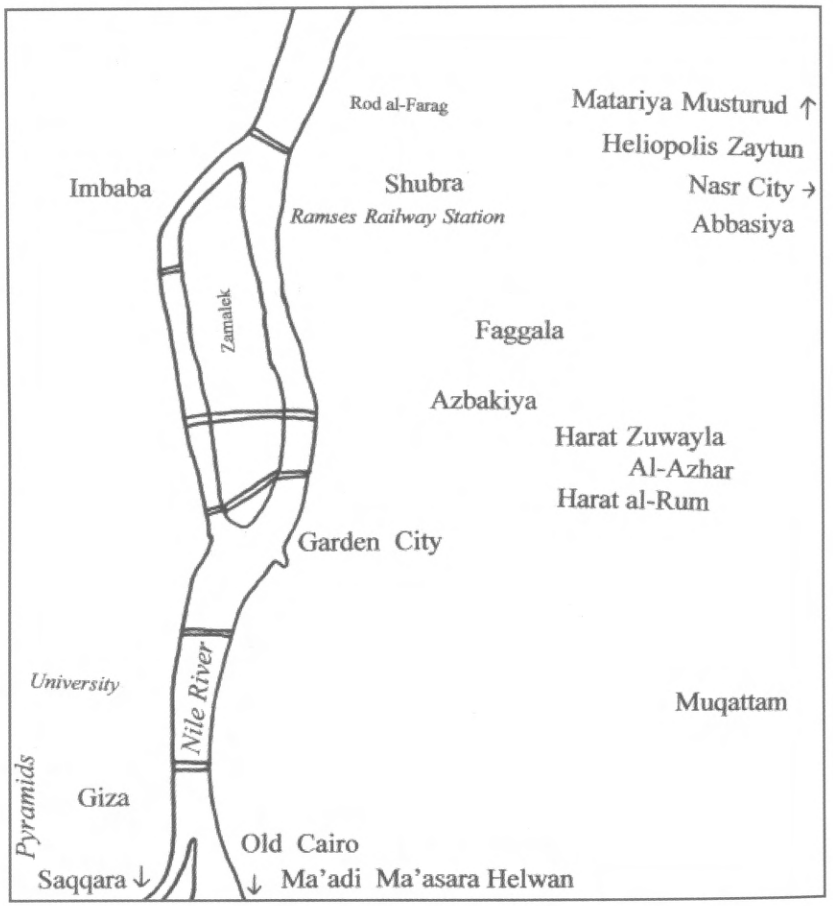
Ⲁ	ⲁ	alpha	a	Ⲣ	ⲣ	ro	r
Ⲃ	ⲃ	vita	v	Ⲥ	ⲥ	sima	s
Ⲅ	ⲅ	gamma	g ⲉ	Ⲧ	ⲧ	tau	t
Ⲇ	ⲇ	delta	d	Ⲩ	ⲩ	ypsilon	y ou
Ⲉ	ⲉ	epsilon	é	Ⲫ	ⲫ	phi	ph
Ⲍ	ⲍ	zita	z	Ⲭ	ⲭ	chi	ch χ
Ⲏ	ⲏ	ita	i è	Ⲯ	ⲯ	psi	ps
Ⲑ	ⲑ	thita	th	Ⲱ	ⲱ	oméga	ô
Ⲓ	ⲓ	iota	i	Ⲳ	ⲳ	schai	sch
Ⲕ	ⲕ	kappa	k	Ⳉ	ⳉ	fai	f
Ⲗ	ⲗ	laoula	l	Ⲯ	ⲯ	khai	kh ⲉ
Ⲙ	ⲙ	mi	m	Ⲍ	ⲍ	hori	h ‘
Ⲛ	ⲛ	ni	n	Ⲋ	ⲋ	djendja	dj
Ⲝ	ⲝ	xi	x	Ⳇ	ⳇ	tschima	sch
Ⲟ	ⲟ	omicron	o	Ⲧ	ⲧ	ti	ti
Ⲡ	ⲡ	pi	p				

‘Our Father’ in Coptic, in phonetics

Dje Peniot etkhen niphioui, Mareftouvo ndje pekran, Maresi ndje tekmetouro, Petehnak marefshopi mphriti khen etphe nem hidjen pikahi, Peno’ik ente rasti mif nan mfo’ou, Ou’oh ka nieteron nan evol mphriti hon ntenko evol n’niete ou’on n’tan ero’ou, Ou’oh mperenten ehoun epirasmos alla nahmen evolha pipet’ho’ou, Khen piKhristos Isous penchois, Dje thok te timetouro nem tigom nem pio’ou sha eneh, amin

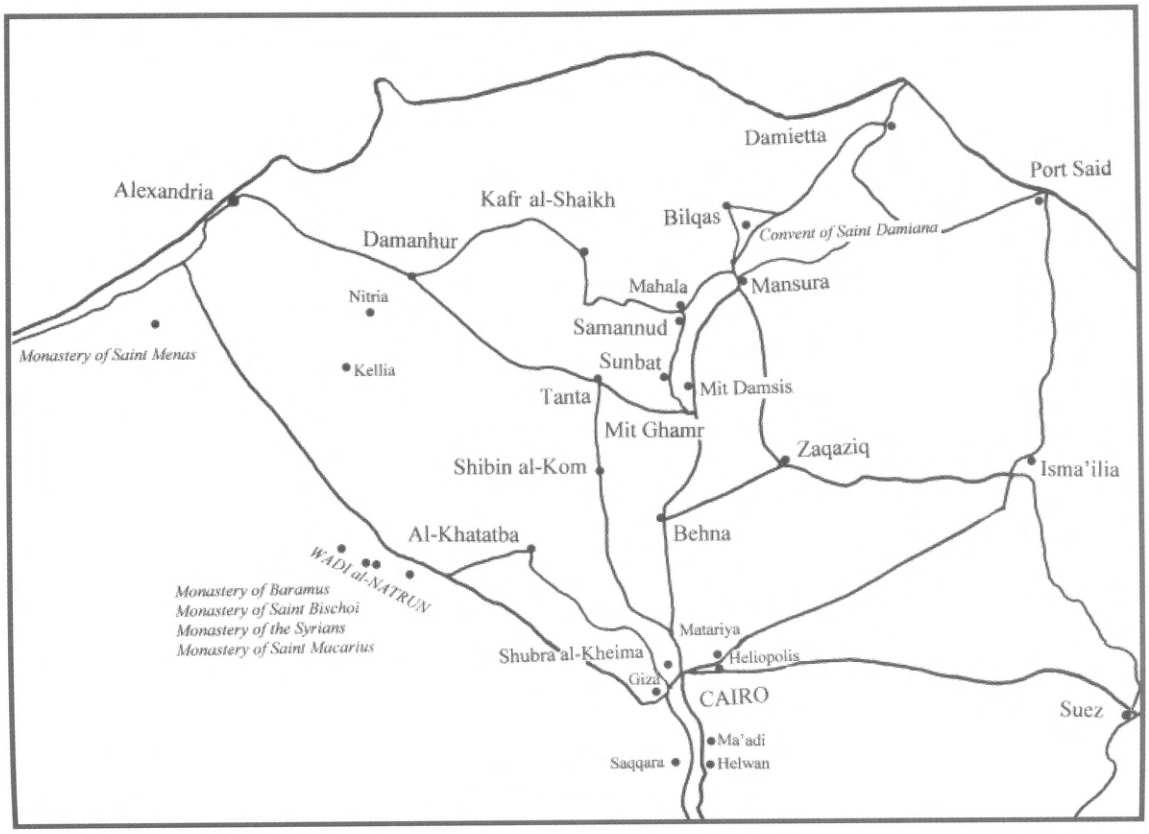
ϫⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⲉϫϧⲉⲛ
ⲛⲓⲫⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲩϫⲟⲩⲃⲟ
ⲛϫⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲣⲁⲛ·
ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲥⲓ ⲛϫⲉ ϫⲉⲕⲙⲉϫ-
ⲟⲩⲣⲟ·ⲡⲉϫⲉⲛⲁⲕ ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲩ-
ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲙⲫⲣⲏϯ ϧⲉⲛ ϫⲫⲉ
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲉⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲉⲓ·
ⲡⲉⲛⲱⲓⲕ ⲛϫⲉ ⲣⲁⲥϯ
ⲙⲏⲓϥ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲙⲫⲟⲟⲩ·
ⲫⲟⲉ ϫⲁ ⲛⲏⲉϫⲉⲣⲟⲛ
ⲛⲁⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲱⲛ ⲛ·
ϫⲉⲛϫⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲛⲏⲑⲉ
ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛϫⲁⲛ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ·
ⲫⲟⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲣⲉⲛϫⲉⲛ
ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲓⲣⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ·ⲁⲗⲗⲁ
ⲛⲁⲉⲙⲉⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗⲉⲁ ⲡⲓⲡⲉϫ-
ⲉⲱⲟⲩ·
ϧⲉⲛ ⲡ̅ϫ̅ⲥ̅ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲛⲥ̅ⲟⲓⲥ
ϫⲉ ⲑⲱⲕ ϫⲉ ⲫⲙⲉϫⲟⲩⲣⲟ
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲫϫⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲱⲟⲩ ϣⲁ
ⲉⲛⲉⲉ ⲁⲙⲏⲛ·

Map of Cairo districts

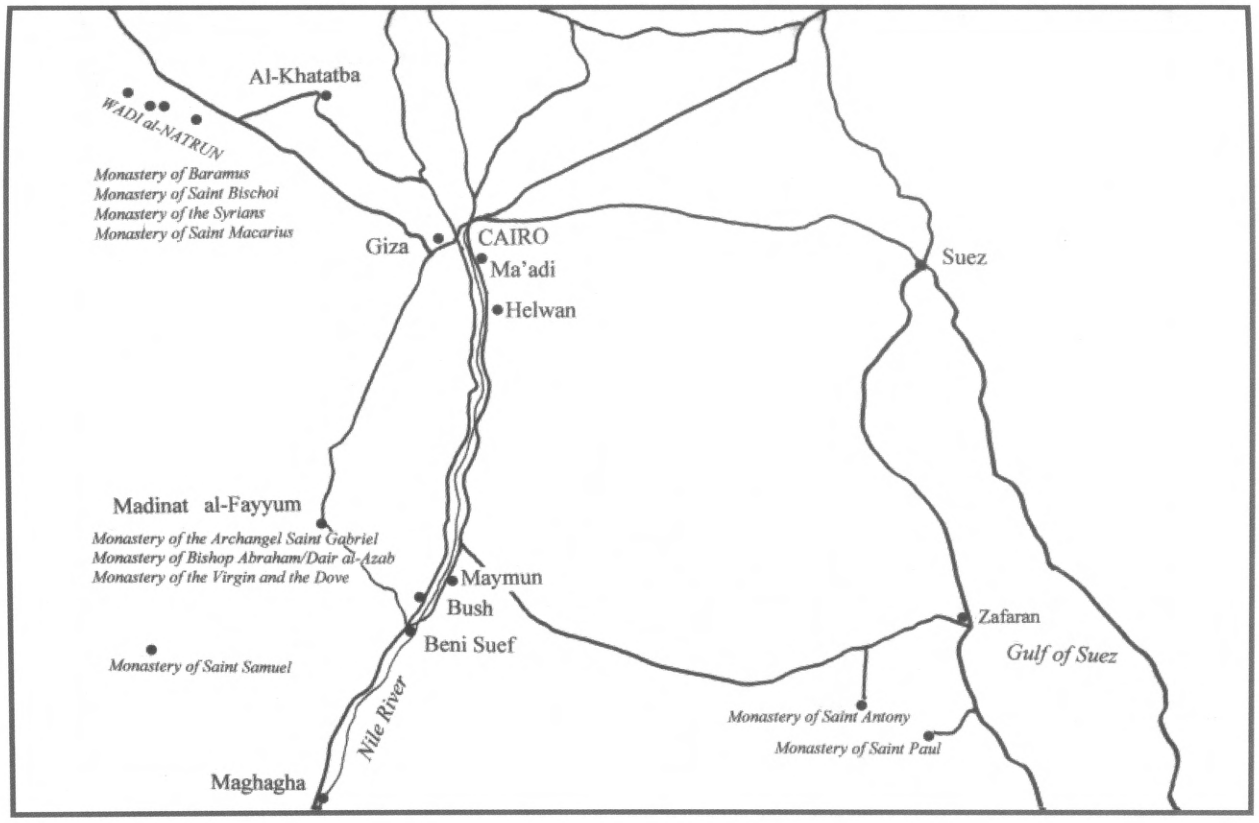


General Map of Egypt

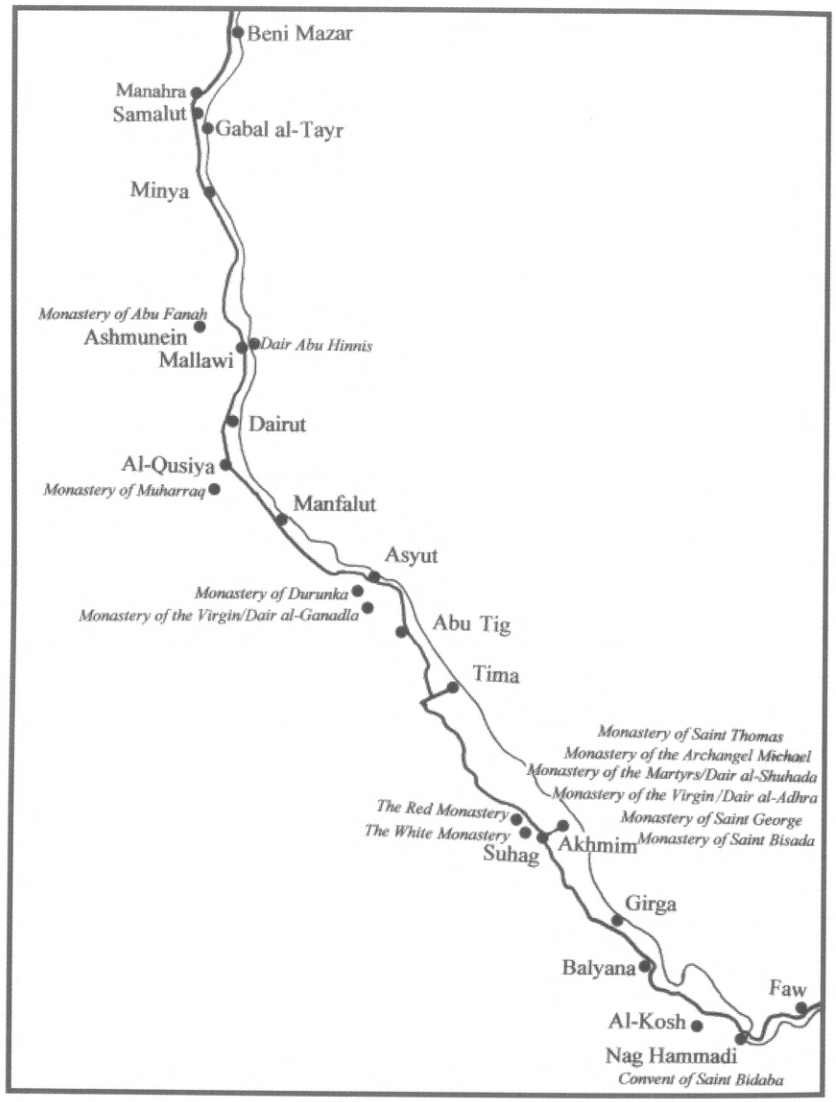
Map of the Delta



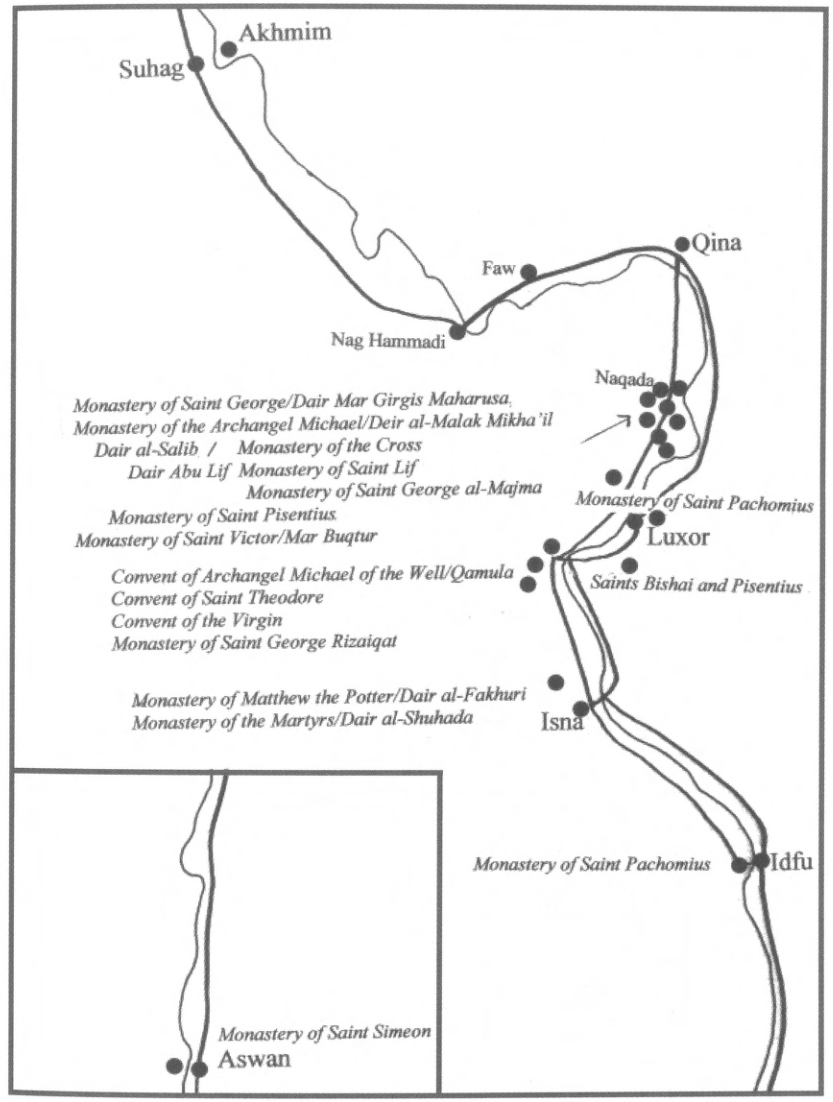
Map of Cairo and Lower Egypt



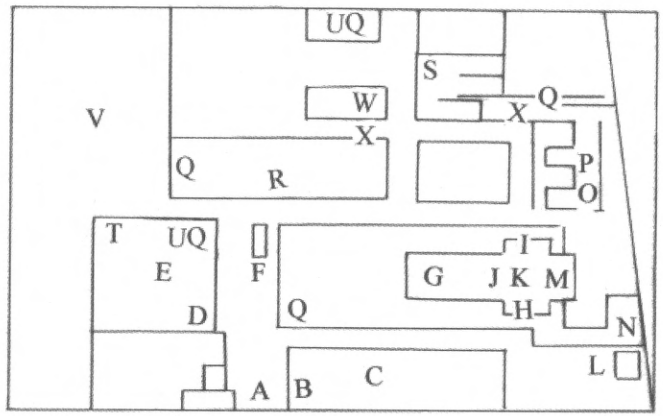
Map of Middle Egypt



Map of Upper Egypt



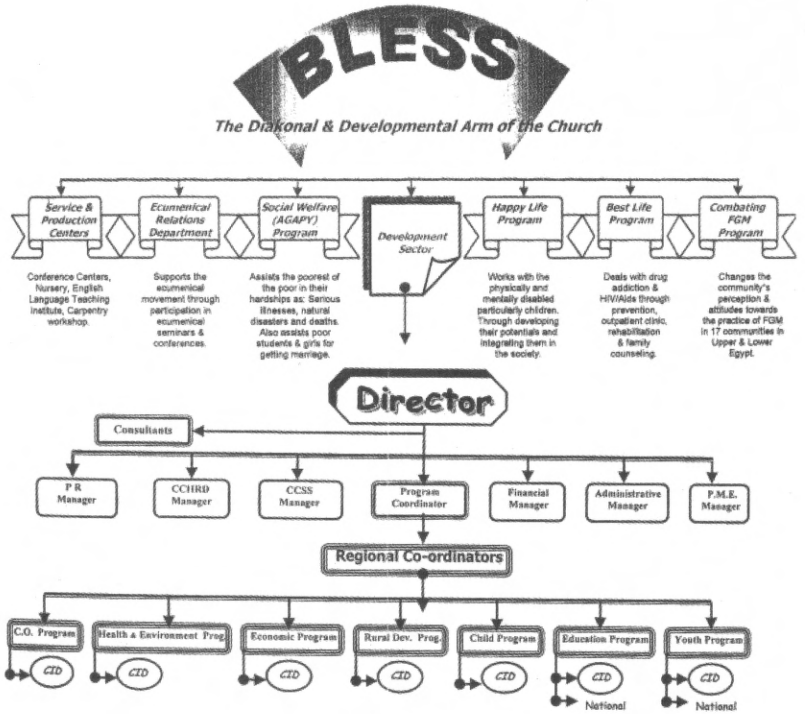
Map of the Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Cairo



Map of the Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Cairo

Entrance of the Patriarchate (A)
Coptic Archaeological Society (B)
Church of Saints Peter and Paul (C)
Little building for some social needs (D)
Residence of the Patriarch (E)
Church of Saint of Saint Ruwais (F)
Cathedral of Saint Mark (G)
Church of Saint Mary and Saint Bishoi (H)
Church of Saint Mary and Saint Ruwais (I)
Reliquary room of Saint Athanasius (J)
Shrine (K)
Church service building (L)
Shrine with relics of Saint Mark (M)
Offices of the Patriarchate (N)
Theological Seminary (O)
Bishopric for Youth (P)
Bookstores (Q)
Institute of Coptic Studies (R)
Residence of the seminarians and of some bishops (S)
Printing house of the Coptic Church (T)
Audio-visual centres and shops (U)
New Saint Mark Library and residence of bishops (V) (under construction in 2004)
Shop for publications, tapes and videos by and about Pope Shenouda (U+Q)
Bishopric of Public, Ecumenical and Social Services (BLESS) (W)
Cafeterias (X)

Chart of the Bishopric of Public, Ecumenical and Social Services (BLESS)


BLESS
The Diakonal & Developmental Arm of the Church
Service & Production Centers
Ecumenical Relations Department
Social Welfare (AGAPY) Program
Development Sector
Happy Life Program
Best Life Program
Combating FGM Program
Conference Centers, Nursery, English Language Teaching Institute, Carpentry workshop.
Supports the ecumenical movement through participation in ecumenical seminars & conferences.
Assists the poorest of the poor in their hardships as: Serious illnesses, natural disasters and deaths. Also assists poor students & girls for getting marriage.
Works with the physically and mentally disabled particularly children. Through developing their potentials and integrating them in the society.
Deals with drug addiction & HIV/Aids through prevention, outpatient clinic, rehabilitation & family counseling.
Changes the community's perception & attitudes towards the practice of FGM in 17 communities in Upper & Lower Egypt.
Director
Consultants
PR Manager
CCHRD Manager
CCSS Manager
Program Coordinator
Financial Manager
Administrative Manager
P.M.E. Manager
Regional Co-ordinators
C.O. Program
Health & Environment Prog.
Economic Program
Rural Dev. Prog.
Child Program
Education Program
Youth Program
CID
National

Bibliography

Main Quoted Reviews

- AB Analecta Bollandiana
- ABenR The American Benedictine Review
- Annales Islamologiques
- ASA Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Egypte (Cairo)
- BAAEAC Bulletin de l'Association des Amis des Eglises et de l'Art Coptes (becomes BSCA), Cairo
- BSFE Bulletin de la Société Française d'Egyptologie
- Belle Bellefontaine, Bégrolles-en-Mauges, France, Collection Spiritualité Orientale
- BIFAOC Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale au Caire
- BSAC Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte, Cairo
- CBC Cahiers de la bibliothèque copte (Paris-Louvain)
- CC Cahiers Coptes, Cairo
- CCR Coptic Church Review, Lebanon, Penn., USA
- CdO Cahier d'Orientalisme, Geneva
- COP Coptologia, Journal of Coptic Thought and Orthodox Spirituality, Scarborough, Canada
- Cop Coptica
- CRAIBL Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Paris
- CSCO Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
- DACL Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie
- DS Dictionnaire de Spiritualité, Paris
- ECQ Eastern Church Quarterly (London)
- Gr Gregorianum (Rome)
- IFAO Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, Cairo
- IKZ Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift, Bern, Switzerland
- JCoptS Journal of Coptic Studies
- JLW Jahrbuch für Liturgie-Wissenschaft
- KM Die Kirchenmusik (Paderborn)
- KMT Kemet, Zeitschrift für Ägyptenfreunde, Berlin, Germany
- LMC Le Monde Copte, Limoges, France
- MEJ The Middle East Journal
- MES Middle Eastern Studies, London
- Mus Le Muséon /Paris
- OCA Orientalia Christiana Analecta
- OCP Orientalia Christiana Periodica, Rome
- OkSt Ostkirchliche Studien, Würzburg, Germany
- Or Orientalia, Rome
- OrChr Oriens Christianus, Wiesbaden, Germany
- Or Su Orientalia Suecana, Uppsala, Sweden
- PAC Patrimoine Arabe Chrétien, Jounieh/Rome
- PO Patrologia Orientalis
- POC Proche-Orient Chrétien
- REA Revue des Etudes Anciennes, Bordeaux
- RHR Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, Paris
- ROC Revue de l'Orient Chrétien
- RSAC Recherches suisses d'archéologie copte
- SC Sources Chrétiennes
- SKAW Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna
- SOCC Studia Orientalia Christiana Collectanea, Cairo

- St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly, New York
- ST Studi e Testi
- STC Studies in Church History
- Tr Mém Travaux et Mémoires du Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance
- The bibliography has been selected with titles for a large public, mostly in English and French.

For Coptic Bibliography

- Atiya, A., Coptic Encyclopedia, 8 vols., New York, (1991)=CE
- Kammerer, W., A Coptic Bibliography, (1950, reprint New York, 1969).

See also:

- Studia Orientalia Christiana Collectanea 3, (1956) 301-404; 4(1959), 339-394; 6 (1961), 305-460; 7 (1962) 221-389; 8 (1963), 439-544; 9 (1964) 377-454; 10 (1965)509-619; 11 (1966)529-594; 12 (1967) 541-584; 14 (1970-1971), 547-623; 15 (1972-1973), 367-443; 17 (1982), 240-321.
- Orientalia 18 (1949) 100-120, 216-246; 19 (1950) 187-201, 295-327; 20 (1951) 291-305, 423-442; 21 (1952) 339-357; 22 (1953) 39*-63*; 23 (1954) 70*-97*; 24 (1955) 54*-76*; 25 (1956) 49*-73*; 26 (1957) 116*-139*; 27 (1958) 48*-67*; 28 (1959) 91*-114*; 29 (1960) 45*-69*; 30 (1961) 62*-88*; 31 (1962) 51*-77*; 32 (1963)114*-136*; 33 (1964) 124*-145*; 34 (1965), 35 (1966), 36 (1967); 40 (1971) 105*-143*, 41 (1972) 89*-106*; 42 (1973)79*-97*; 43 (1974) 53*-76*; 44 (1975) 88*-107*; 45 (1976) 88*-117*.

- Enchoria 4 (1974)- 6 (1976), 10 (1980).

- ICCoptS=Acts of Coptic Congresses
- ICCoptS I, Cairo (1976) = Wilson, R., (ed.), The Future of Coptic Studies, Leiden), published in 1978
- ICCoptS 2 Rome (1980), published in 1985
- ICCoptS 3 Warsaw (1984), published in 1990
- ICCoptS 4, Louvain-la-Neuve (1988), published in 1992
- ICCoptS 5, Washington (1992), published in 1993
- ICCoptS 6, Münster (1996), published in 1999
- ICCopt 7, Leiden (2000), published in 2004.
- ICCopt 8, Paris (2004), (to be published)

Maps and Geography

- Amélineau, E., La Géographie de l'Egypte à l'époque copte, Paris, (1893).
- Grohmann, A., Studien zur historischen Geographie und Verwaltung des frühmittelalterlichen Ägypten, Vienna, (1959).
- Latourette, Atlas zur Kirchen Geschichte, Vienna, (1970) 17*.
- Maspéro, J., and G. Wiet, 'Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Egypte', MIFAO, 36, Cairo, (1919).
- Meinardus, O., Atlas of Christian Sites in Egypt, Publications de la Société d'Archéologie copte, Cairo, (1962).
- Munier, H.,'La géographie de l'Egypte d'après les listes coptes-arabes', BSAC, 5 Cairo, (1939), 210-243.
- Timm, S., 'Christliche Stätten in Ägypten', Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients B/36, Wiesbaden, (1979).
- Timm, S., 'Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit', Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B, nr 41/1-41/6, Wiesbaden (1984-1992).

Bibliography

History

- Abdelnour, Z., Le rôle politique de la diaspora copte d'Amérique du Nord, mémoire DEA, IEP, Paris, (1993).
- Al-Sayyid Marsot, A.L., Egypt in the Reign of Muhammad Ali, Cambridge, (1984).
- Al-Sayyid Marsot, A.L., A Short History of Modern Egypt, Cambridge, (1985).
- Amélineau, E., La Géographie de l'Egypte à l'Epoque Copte, Paris, (1892, reprint 1973).
- Amélineau, E., L'Histoire de l'Egypte Chrétienne, Paris, (1895).
- Ansari, H., 'Sectarian Conflict in Egypt and the Political Expediency of Religion', MEJ 38/3, (1984), 397-418.
- Atiya, A.S., A History of Eastern Christianity, New York, (1968, reprint 1980), 11-145.
- Atiya, A.S., article 'kibt' in Encyclopédie de l'Islam, 2nd ed., (1986).
- Atiya, A.S., article 'Coptic Church', in The Encyclopedia of Religion, 4, (1987), 82-86.

- Atiya, A.S., 'Ayyubid dynasty and the Copts', CE, (1991), 314-315.
- Ayrout, H., 'Regards sur le christianisme en Egypte hier et aujourd'hui', POC 15 (1965), 3-42.
- Bagnall, R.S., Egypt in Late Antiquity, Princeton, (1993).
- Barbulesco, L., La participation politique de la communauté copte d'Egypte, (1881-1981), Attitudes collectives et orientations idéologiques, (thesis Institut d'Etudes Politiques), Paris, (1990).
- Barns, J.W.B., 'Egyptians and Greeks', Papyrologica Bruxellensia 14, Brussels, (1978).
- Baumeister, T., 'Geschichte und Historiographie des ägyptischen Christentums. Studien und Darstellungen der letzen Jahren', ICCopt 8 Paris (2004).
- Behrens-Abouseif, D., 'The political situation of the Copts, 1798-1923', in Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire (eds. B. Braude and B. Lewis), New York, (1982).
- Bell, H.I., Jews and Christians in Egypt, Oxford, (1924, repr. 1977).
- Bell, H.I., 'Evidences of Christianity in Egypt during the Roman Period', Harvard Theological Review 37, (1944), 185-208.
- Bell, H.I., Egypt from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest, Oxford, (1948, 1966).
- Bell, H.I., Cults and Creeds in Graeco-Roman Egypt, Liverpool, (1953).
- Berque, J., Egypte. Impérialisme et révolution, Paris, (1967), with English translation in 1972.
- Boak, A.E.R., 'Flight and Oppression in Fourth-Century Egypt', in Studi in onore di A. Calderini e R. Paribeni, Milan, (1956-79), vol. 2, 325-37.
- Bowie, L., 'The Copts, the Wafd and Religious Issues in Egyptian Politics', The Muslim World 67/2 (1977), 106-126.
- Brakmann, H., 'Art. Ägypten VI. Kirchengeschichte', in Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche, 3/1 (1993) 260-1.
- Braude, B., and B. Lewis, Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire, New York, (1982).
- Brehm, A.E., 'Chartum und seine Bewohner', Zeitschrift für allg. Erdk., Berlin, 6, (1856), 38.
- Brown, P., The World of Late Antiquity, London, (1971).
- Brunner-Traut, E., Die Kopten, Leben und Lehre der Ägyptische Christen in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Diederichs, (1982).
- Burmester, O., History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church, Cairo 2/1 (1943), 2/2 (1948), 2/3 (1959), 3/1 (1968), 3/2 (1970), 3/3 (1970), 4/1 (1974), 4/2 (1974).
- Butcher, E.L., The History of the Church of Egypt, (2 vols.), London, (1897).
- Butler, A.J., The Arab Conquest of Egypt, Oxford, (1902, repr, 1978).
- Camplani, A., 'L'historiographie du siège épiscopal d'Alexandrie (IVe-Ve siècle)', ICCopt 8 Paris (2004).
- Cannuyer, C., Les Coptes, Brepols, (1990).
- Cannuyer, C., L'Egypte copte, Les Chrétiens du Nil, Paris, (2000)/Coptic Egypt, The Christians of the Nile, London, (2001).
- Carter, B.L., The Copts in Egyptian Politics 1918-1952, Cairo, (1986).
- Chaine, M., La Chronologie des temps chrétiens de l'Egypte et de l'Ethiopie, Paris, (1925).
- Chamberlain, M.E.,'The Alexandria Massacre of 11 June 1882 & the British Occupation of Egypt',MES 13, (1977), 14-39.
- Chauleur, S., Histoire des Coptes d'Egypte, Paris, (1960).
- Chitham, E.J., The Coptic Community in Egypt. Spatial and Social Change, Durham, (1986).
- Cole, J., Colonialism and Revolution in the Middle East. Social & Cultural Origins of Egypt's Urabi Movement, Cairo,(1999).
- Costet-Tardieu, F., 'La campagne anti-copte de 1938', ICCopt 8 Paris (2004).
- Courbage Y. and P. Fargues, Chrétiens et Juifs dans l'Islam arabe et turc, Paris, (1992).
- Cragg, K., The Arab Christians. A History in the Middle East, Louisville, (1991).
- Crecelius, D., (ed.), Eighteenth Century Egypt. The Arabic Manuscripts Sources, Los Angeles, (1990).
- Cuno, K., The Pasha's Peasants. Land, Society and Economy in Lower Egypt, 1740-1858, Cairo/AUC, (1994).
- Davis, S., The Early Coptic Papacy, Cairo, (2004).
- Décobert, C., 'Sur l'arabisation et l'islamisation de l'Egypte médiévale', Mélanges offerts au Père Maurice Martin, (Décobert, C., ed.), IFAO, Biblio. Etudes 107, Cairo, (1992), 273-300.
- Den Heijer, J., Mawhub Ibn Mansur Ibn Mufarrig et l'Historiographie Copto-arabe. Etude sur la composition de l'Histoire des Patriarches, Louvain, (1989).
- Den Heijer, J., 'The Composition of the History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria on the History of the Churches and Monasteries of Egypt: Some Preliminary Remarks, ICCoptS 5, 209-219.
- Den Heijer, J., 'Une liste d'évêques coptes de l'année 1086', Itinéraires d'Egypte. Mélanges offerts au Père M. Martin, (Décobert, C., ed.), Cairo, IFAO Bibliothèques des Etudes 107, (1992), 147-165.
- Den Heijer, J., 'Apologetic Elements in Coptic-Arabic Historiography: The Life of Afraham ibn Zur'ah, 62nd Patriarch of Alexandria', in Christian Arabic Apologetics during the Abbasid Period (750-1258), (ed. Samir Khalil Samir and J. S. Nielsen), (1994), 192-202.

- Den Heijer, J., Coptic Historiography in the Fatimid, Ayyubid & Early Mamluk Period, Medieval Encounters 2 (1996) 67-98.
- Den Heijer, J., 'La conquête arabe vue par les historiens coptes', in Valeur et Distance. Identités et Sociétés en Egypte, (Décobert, C. ed.), Paris, (2000), 227-245.
- Den Heijer, J., 'Wadi al-Natrun and the History of the Patriarchs', Coptica 2, (2003), 24-42.
- Diehl, C., 'L'Egypte chrétienne et byzantine', in Histoire de la nation égyptienne, t. 3, (G. Hanoteaux ed.), Paris, (1933).
- Dodwell, H., The Founder of Modern Egypt. A Study of Muhammad Ali, Cambridge, (1931).
- Doresse, J., Des hiéroglyphes à la Croix, Istanbul, (1960).
- Du Bourguet, P., Les Coptes, Paris, (1988).
- El-Feki, M., 'Christian Minority in a Muslim Country', in Islam and the Modern Age, 14, (1983), 79-103.
- Elli, A., Storia della Chiesa copta, Cairo/Jerusalem, 3 vols., (2003).
- Empereur, J.Y., Alexandria, Past, Present and Future, London (2002).
- Eusebius of Caesarea, The Ecclesiastical History, 2 vols., London, (1949, 1953); (also to be found in vol. 1 of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, New York 1925, repr. 1964).
- Evetts, B., History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria, Paris, P.O. 1/2 and 1/4 (1948), 5/1 (1947), 10/5 (1959).
- Fahmy, K., All the Pasha's Men. Mehmed Ali, his army and the making of modern Egypt, Cairo/AUC, (2002).
- Farah, N.R., Religious Strife in Egypt. Crisis and Ideological Conflict in the Seventies, New York, (1986).
- Farrugia, E., Dizionario enciclopedico dell'Oriente cristiano, Rome, PIO, (2000).
- Fowler, M., Christian Egypt, London, (1901).
- Frend, W.H.C., Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Christian Church, Oxford, (1965).
- Frend, W.H.C., The Rise of Christianity, Philadelphia, (1984).
- Gaubert, C., J.M. Mouton, 'Présentation des archives d'une famille copte du Fayoum à l'époque fatimide', ICCopt 7, 505-517.
- Gerhards, A., and H. Brakmann, Die koptische Kirche, Stuttgart, (1993).
- Ghali, M.B., 'La Politique extérieure de l'Egypte. L'après Sadate', Bulletin CEDEJ (Cairo), 14, (1982), 5-25.
- Ghali, M.B., 'The Egyptian National Consciousness', Middle East Journal, 32, (1978), 59-77.
- Glubb, J.B., Soldiers of Fortune: the Story of the Mamluks, London (1973).
- Goldschmidt, A., Modern Egypt. The Formation of a Nation-State, Cairo, (1990); Oxford (2004).
- Gran, P., Islamic Roots of Capitalism. Egypt, 1760-1840, Cairo/AUC, (1999).
- Grant, R., 'Early Alexandrian Christianity', in Church History 40, (1971), 133-144.
- Griggs, C.W., Early Egyptian Christianity from Its Origin to 451 C.E., Leiden, (1990).
- Haddad, Y. Yasbeck. and J.L. Esposito (eds.), The Islamic Revival since 1988. A Critical Survey and Bibliography, Westport/London (1997), see Egypt 165-172.
- Hall Partrick, T., Traditional Egyptian Christianity. A History of the Coptic Orthodox Church, Versa Press USA, (1996).
- Hanotaux, G., (ed.) Histoire de la Nation Egyptienne, Paris, (1931-1940), 7 vols.
- Hardy, E.R., The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt, New York, (1931).
- Hardy, E.R., Christian Egypt, Church and People, Oxford, (1952).
- Hardy, E.R., 'The Patriarchate of Alexandria: A Study in national Christianity', in Mission and Regional Characteristics of the Early Church, (Ferguson E., ed.), New York/London, (1993), (Studies in Early Christianity 12).
- Harnack, A., The expansion of Christianity in the first three centuries, London, (1905), tome II.
- Hasan, S.S., Christians Versus Muslims in Modern Egypt, Oxford (2003).
- Hassan, M., Les Tulumides, Etude de l'Egypte musulmane à la fin du IXe siècle, 868-905, Paris, (1933).
- Heyworth-Dunne, J., Religious and Political Trends in Modern Egypt, Washington, (1950).
- Hill, R., Egypt in the Sudan, 1820-1881, Oxford, (1959).
- Holt, P.M., Egypt and the Fertile Crescent (1516-1922), London (1966).
- Holt, P.M., (ed.), Political and Social Change in Modern Egypt. Historical Studies from the Ottoman Conquest to the United Arab Republic, London, (1968).
- Hourani, A., Minorities in the Arab World, (1947).
- Ibrahim, S.E., The Copts in Egypt, (Minority Rights Group International Report), Ibn Khaldoun Center for Development Studies, Cairo, (1996).
- Ivanow, W., The Fatimids, Cambridge (1940).
- Johnson, A.C . and L. West, Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies, Princeton (1949, reprint Amsterdam 1967).
- Jomier, J. 'Les Coptes', in L'Egypte d'aujourd'hui, Paris (ed. M.C. Aulas), (1977), 69-84.
- Jouguet, P., 'De l'Egypte grecque à l'Egypte copte', BAAEAC, 1, (1935), 1-26.
- Kepel, G., Muslim Extremism in Egypt, London (1985).

- Kepel, G., Le Prophète et Pharaon. Aux sources des mouvements islamistes, Paris, (1993).
- Khawaga El, D., 'Le renouveau copte actuel: raisons d'émergence et modes de fonctionnement', Modernisation et Nouvelles Formes de Mobilisation Sociale: Egypte-Brésil (1970-1989), I, CEDEJ, (1991), 115-134.
- Khawaga El, D., Le Renouveau copte: la communauté comme acteur politique, (doctorate thesis IEP, 2 vols.), Paris, (1993).
- Khawaga El, D., 'Le débat sur les Coptes: le dit et le non-dit', Egypte/Monde arabe, (CEDEC, Cairo), 20, (1994), 67-76.
- Khawaga El, D., 'Political Dynamics of the Copts', Christian Communities in the Arab Middle East, (ed. A. Pacini), Oxford (1998), 172-190.
- Lane, E.W., 'The Copts', Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, London, (1860, reprint AUC 2003), 535-58.
- Lane-Poole, S., Egypt in the Middle Ages, London, (1901).
- Leeder, S.H., Modern Sons of the Pharaohs, (1919, repr. 1973).
- Lev, Y., 'Persecution & Conversion to Islam in Eleventh-century Egypt', Asian and African Studies, 22/1-3, (1988), 73-91.
- Lewis, B., 'Egypt and Syria', The Cambridge History of Islam, (To the End of the Fatimid Caliphate), Cambridge, (1970), 175-230.
- Little, D., 'Coptic Conversion to Islam under the Bahri Mamluks (1293-1453)', Bulletin of The School of Oriental and African Studies, (1976), 552-569.
- Macrizi, Geschichte der Kopten, (trans. F. Wüstenfeld), Göttingen, (1845, reprint New York 1979).
- Mansfield, P., The British in Egypt, London (1972).
- Martin, A., 'Aux origines de l'Eglise copte: l'implantation et le développement du Christianisme en Egypte (Ier-IVe siècles), Revue des Etudes Anciennes 83 (1981), 35-56.
- Martin, A., Athanase d'Alexandrie et l'Eglise d'Egypte au IVe siècle (328-373), Collection de l'Ecole Française de Rome, 216, Rome, (1996).
- Martin, M., 'The Coptic-Muslim Conflict in Egypt', in Centre d'Etudes pour le Monde Arabe Moderne, Tensions in the Middle East Society, Beirut, (1972-3), 31-53.
- Martin, M., 'Note sur la communauté copte entre 1650 et 1850', Annales Islamologiques, IFAO, 18 (1982), 193-215.
- Martin, M., 'Une lecture de l'Histoire des Patriarches d'Alexandrie', POC 35 (1985), 15-36.
- Martin, M., Nispen, Sidarouss, 'Les nouveaux courants dans la communauté copte orthodoxe', Proche Orient Chrétien, X/III-IV, (1990), 245-257.
- Martin, M., 'Sur quelques comportements symboliques spécifiques de la communauté copte', in Modernisation et mobilisation sociale, Dossiers CEDEJ, Cairo, (1991), 135-138.
- Martin, M., 'Le Delta chrétien à la fin du 12e siècle', OCP 63/1, (1997), 181-199.
- Martin, M., 'Chrétiens et Musulmans à la fin du 12e siècle', in Valeur et Distance. Identités et Sociétés en Egypte, (Décobert, C. ed.), Paris, (2000), 83-92.
- Maspéro, J., Organisation militaire de l'Egypte byzantine, Paris, (1912).
- Maspéro, J., Histoire des Patriarches d'Alexandrie (518-616), Paris, (1923).
- Masri, El, I., The Story of the Copts, Cairo, (1978).
- Meinardus, O., 'The Attitudes of the Orthodox Copts towards the Islamic State from the 7th to the 12th Century', OkSt 13 (1964), 153-170.
- Meinardus, O., Christian Egypt, Faith and Life, Cairo, (1970).
- Meinardus, O., Christian Egypt, Ancient and Modern, Cairo, (1977).
- Meinardus, O., 'Die Krise in der koptischen Kirche. Eine Herde ohne Hirten', OkSt 32, (1983), 326-332.
- Meinardus, O., 'Die Ghalis', KMT 11/1, (2002), 47-50.
- Meurice, C., Voyageurs, Missionaires et Consuls dans la région de Tahta (Moyenne Egypte) de la deuxième moitié du XVIIe au début du XXe siècle', ICCopt 7 Leiden (2000), published in 2004, 953-969.
- Mikhail, K., Copts and Muslims under British Control, New York (1911, reprint 1971).
- Mikhail, N., 'Die Koptische Kirche von 1800-1970', in Koptisches Christentum, (Verghese, P. ed.), Stuttgart, (1973).
- Mitchell, R., The Society of the Muslim Brothers, Oxford (1969).
- Moiret, J.M., Memoirs of Napoleon's. Egyptian Expedition 1798-1801, (2001).
- Mouton, J.M., 'L'islamisation de l'Egypte au Moyen Age', in Chrétiens du monde arabe, (ed. B. Heyberger), Paris, (2003), 110-123.
- Muir, W., The Mameluke or Slave Dynasty of Egypt, 1260-1517, London, (1896).
- Munier, H., 'L'Egypte byzantine et Musulmane', in Précis de l'Histoire d'Egypte, Cairo, (1932), vol. 2, 3-106.
- Musa, S., The Education of Salama Musa, (trans. L.O. Schuman), Leiden, (1961).
- Naguib, S., Les Coptes dans l'Egypte d'aujourd'hui, Bruxelles, (1996).

- O'Mahony, A., 'The Politics of Religious Renewal: Coptic Christianity in Egypt', in Eastern Christianity (ed. A. O'Mahony), London (2004).
- Oulton, J. E. L., Chadwick, H., Alexandrian Christianity, Philadelphia, (1956).
- Pearson, B.A., and J.E. Goehring (eds.), The Roots of Egyptian Christianity, Philadelphia, (1986).
- Penington, J.D., 'The Copts in Modern Egypt', MES 18, (1982), 158-179.
- Peroncel-Hugoz, J., Le Radeau de Mahomet, Paris (1983).
- Pizzo, P., L'Egitto agli Egiziani ! Cristiani, musulmani e idea nazionale (1882-1936), Torino (2002), in Patrimonio culturale arabo cristiano 7 POC, 'L'actualité nationale et les relations entre Chrétiens et Musulmanns', XXXII/I-II, (1982), 124-161.
- Quatremère, E., Mémoires géographiques et historiques sur l'Egypte, Paris, (1811).
- Rémondon, R., 'Egypte chrétienne', Dictionnaire de Spiritualité, 6, Paris, (1960), 532-548.
- Rémondon, R., L'Eglise dans la société égyptienne à l'époque byzantine', CE 47, (1972), 254-277.
- Roberts, C.H., Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt, London, (1979).
- Rouillard, G., L'Administration civile de l'Egypte byzantine, Paris, (1928).
- Said Aly, A. and M.W. Wenner, 'Modern Islamic Reform Movements: The Muslim Brotherhood in Contemporary Egypt', Middle East Journal 36 (1982), 336-361.
- Samaan, J., and S. Sukkari, 'The Copts and Muslims of Egypt', in Muslim-Christian Conflicts, Economic, Political and Social Origins, (Joseph, S., and B.L.K. Pillsbury ed.), Boulder, (1978), 129-155.
- Samir, K., 'The Role of Christians in the F'atimid Government Services of Egypt to the Reign of al-H'afiz, Medieval Encounters 2, (1996), 177-192.
- Seikaly, S., 'Coptic communal reform', Middle Eastern Studies, 6/3 (1970), 247-275.
- Seikaly, S., 'Prime Minister and Assassin: Butros Ghali and Wardani', Middle Eastern Studies, 13, (1977), 112-123.
- Seybolld, C.F., Severus ben el-Moqaffa, Historia Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum, CSCO 52 (1904), 59 (1910).
- Shaw, S.J., History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, 1280-1808, vol. 1, Empire of the Gazis, Cambridge, (1976).
- Shore, A.F., Christian and Coptic Egypt, Oxford, (1971).
- Sidarouss, F., Eglise copte et monde moderne, (thesis Université Saint Joseph, Beirut), 2 t., (1978).
- Sidarouss, F., 'Eglise copte et monde moderne', Proche Orient Chrétien 30/1-4, (1980).
- Sidarus, A., 'The Copto-Arabic Renaissance in the Middle Ages: Characteristics and Socio-Political Context', Coptica 1 (2002), 141-160.
- Strothmann, R., Die Koptische Kirche in der Neuzeit, Nendeln, (1930, repr, 1966).
- Tagher, J., Coptes et Musulmans, Cairo, (1952).
- Tagher, J., Christians in Muslim Egypt. A Historical Study of the Relations between Copts and Muslims from 640 to 1922, Altenberge, (1998).
- Tamura, A., 'Ethnic Consciousness and Its Transformation in the Course of Nation-building: the Muslim and the Copt in Egypt, 1906-1919', The Muslim World 75 (1985), 102-114.
- Tcherikover, V., Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews, New York, (1970), 269, 272.
- Telfer, W., 'Episcopal Succession in Egypt', Journal of Ecclesiastical History 3 (1951), 1-13.
- Terry, J., The Wafd, 1919-1952: Cornerstone of Egyptian Political Power, London, (1982).
- Tignor, R., Modernization and British Colonial Rule in Egypt, 1882-1914, Princeton, (1966).
- Toledano, E., State and Society in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Egypt, Cambridge, (1990).
- Troupeau, G., 'Eglises et chrétiens dans l'Orient musulman', in Histoire du Christianisme, IV, 375-456.
- Valognes, J.P., Vie et Mort des Chrétiens d'Orient, Paris, (1994).
- Vansleb, Histoire de l'Eglise d'Alexandrie, Paris, (1677).
- Vantini, G., Christianity in the Sudan, EMI, Bologna, (1981).
- Vantini, G., Il Cristianesimo nella Nubia antica, Verona, (1985).
- Vatikiotis, P.J. (ed.), Egypt since the Revolution, London, (1968).
- Vatikiotis, P.J., The History of Egypt from Muhammad Ali to Mubarak, Baltimore, (1969, 4th ed. 1991).
- Voile, B., Les Coptes d'Egypte sous Nasser. Sainteté, miracles, apparitions, Paris , (2004).
- Volkoff, O., 'Une tentative d'union entre l'Eglise copte et l'Eglise Orthodoxe russe', BSAC 22, (1974-75), 169-176.
- Wakin, E., A Lonely Minority: The Modern Story of Egypt's Copts, New York, (1963, reprint 2000).
- Waterbury, J., The Egypt of Nasser and Sadat, Princeton, (1983).
- Watson, A., The American Mission in Egypt, 1854-1896, Pittsburg, (1998).
- Watson, J., Prisoner of Conscience: Christian Patriarch Shenuda III, Human Rights and Egyptian Christians, Medan, (1984).

- Wiet, G., L'Egypte Musulmane, in Précis de l'Histoire d'Egypte, Cairo, (1932), vol. 2, 109-294.
- Wiet, G., article 'Kibt', in Encyclopédie de l'Islam.
- Winkler, D.W., Koptische Kirche und Reichskirche, Innsbruck/Wien, (1997).
- Wissa, H.F., Assiout, the Saga of an Egyptian Family, The Book Guide, Sussex, (1994, reprint 2000).
- Wissa Wassef, C., 'La participation des Coptes au mouvement national égyptien', Les Chrétiens du monde arabe, problématiques actuelles et enjeux, Paris (1989), 68-70.
- Wipszycka, E., Les ressources et les activités économiques des églises en Egypte du IVe au VIIIe siècle, in Papyrologica Bruxellensia 10, (1972).
- Wipszycka, E., 'La christianisation de l'Egypte aux IVe et Ve siècles. Aspects sociaux et ethniques', Aegyptus 68, (1988), 117-165.
- Wipszycka, E., 'Fonctionnement de l'Eglise égyptienne aux IVe-VIIIe siècles', in Itinéraires d'Egypte, Misc: Martin, (ed. C. Décobert), IFAO, Bibliothèque des Etudes 107 (1992), 115-145.
- Wipszycka, E., 'Le nationalisme a-t-il existé dans l'Egypte byzantine ?', The Journal of Juristic Papyrology, 22, (1992), 83-128.
- Wipszycka, E., 'Etudes sur le christianisme dans l'Egypte de l'antiquité tardive', Studia Ephemerides Augustinianum, 52, Rome, (1996).
- Wipszycka, E., 'Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche in Egitto dalla fine del III all'inizio dell'VIII secolo', in L'Egitto cristiano. Aspetti e problemi in èta tardo-antica, (A. Camplani ed.), Rome, (1997), 219-271.
- Zaki, M.S., Histoire des Coptes d'Egypte, Paris, (2005).
- Zanetti, U., 'Les chrétientés du Nil: Basse et Haute Egypte, Nubie, Ethiopie', in R. F. TAFT, (ed.), The Christian East, Its Institutions and Its Thought. A Critical Reflexion, Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 251, (1996), 181-216.

Organization of the Church

- Abdallah, A., 'Una spinosa questione nella Chiesa copta, il consiglio comunitario o al-maglis al-milli', La Voce de Nilo, 4, (1962), 189-195.
- Abdel-Sayed, E., Les Coptes d'Egypte: Les Premiers Chrétiens du Nil, Paris, (1992).
- Afifi, M., 'The State and the Church in the 19th century Egypt', Die Welt des Islams, 39/3, (1999), 273-288.
- Aldeeb Abu-Sahlieh, S.A., Non-Musulmans en pays d'Islam. Cas de l'Egypte (Impact de la religion sur l'ordre juridique), Fribourg, (1979).
- Assad, M., 'The Coptic family and social change in Egypt', in Families in Transition, (ed. M. Mpolo), WCC Geneva, (1987), 31-57.
- Assad, M., 'Prägung der koptischen Identität', Die Kirchen der Welt, Koptisches Christentum, (ed. P. Verghese), Stuttgart, (1973), 87-116.
- Assad, M., 'Mission in the Coptic Orthodox Church. Perspective, doctrine and practice', International Review of Mission LXXX/318, (1991), 251-261.
- Athanasius (Bishop), 'Die koptische Kirche heute', Die Kirchen der Welt, Koptisches Christentum, (ed. P. Verghese), Stuttgart, (1973), 74-86.
- Barbar, K., and G. Kepel, Les Waqfs dans l'Egypte contemporain, CEDEJ, Cairo (1981).
- Barbulesco, L., Les Chrétiens égyptiens aujourd'hui, dossier CEDEJ, 1, Cairo, (1985).
- Beshai, A., 'The Place and the Present Role of the Copts in the Egyptian Economy: Traditions and Specializations', in Christian Communities in the Arab Middle East, (ed. A. Pacini), Oxford, (1998), 191-199.
- Brakmann, H., Art. 'Kopten, koptische Kirche', in Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche, 6, (1997), 358-360.
- Chaillot, C., 'Comment vit la femme copte aujourd'hui au sein de l'Eglise ?', LMC 16, (1989), 66-74.
- Chaillot, C., 'L'Institut des Etudes Coptes', LMC 17, (1990), 35-8.
- Chaillot, C., 'The Diaconate of Women in the Coptic Orthodox Church', Orthodox Outlook 3, (June 1990), 15-16.
- Chaillot, C., 'Diaconia femminile nella Chiesa copta oggi', in Donna e Ministero, (ed. C. Militello), Rome, (1991), 297-301.
- Chaillot, C. (chief editor), Towards Unity. The Theological Dialogue between the Orthodox Church and the Oriental Orthodox Churches, Geneva, (1998).
- Chaillot, C., 'Vie et Orthodoxie de l'Eglise copte', in Contacts 187, (1999), Paris, 237-263.
- Chaillot, C., 'Démarches ecclésiologiques pratiques dans le dialogue entre Eglises orthodoxes chalcédoniennes et préchalcédoniennes: rencontres, informations et voyage de deux moniales coptes en Grèce', LMC 17, (1990), 59-60.
- Coquin, C., 'Canon Law', in CE, (1991), 449-51.
- Den Heijer, J., 'Le patriarcat copte d'Alexandrie à l'époque fatimide', Alexandrie médiévale 2, (2002), 83-97.

- Evetts, B., 'Un Prélat réformateur, Le Patrarche copte Cyrille IV', Revue de l'Orient Chrétien, t.VII, Paris, (1912).
- Ghali, M., 'Fondation d'un nouveau séminaire copte orthodoxe', POC 4/3, (1954), 243-246.
- Ghali, M., 'Clerical College', CE, (1991), 563-564.
- Hajjar, J., 'La suppression des Tribunaux confessionnels en Egypte', POC, 5/4 (1955), 316-325; 6/1, (1956), 11-27.
- Heyer, F., 'Die Entwirkung des koptische Patriarchats auf die Gründung des orthodoxen Patriarchats von Eritrea', in Daheim und in der Fremde, (ed. M. Tamcke), Hamburg (2002), 253-9.
- Heyworth-Dunne, J., 'Education in Egypt and the Copts', BSAC VI, (1940), 91-108.
- Khawaga, D., 'Le 'renouveau copte' et l'Edition ', Bulletin du CEDEJ 25, Cairo, (1989).
- Khawaga, D., 'Le Renouveau copte actuel: raisons d'émergence et modes de fonctionnement', in Dossiers du CEDEJ, Modernisation et nouvelles formes de mobilisation sociale (Egypte-Brésil), Le Caire, (1991), 115-34.
- Khawaga, D., 'L'affirmation d'une identité chrétienne copte', Mélanges offerts au Père Maurice Martin, (Décobert, C., ed.), IFAO, Biblio. Etudes 107, Cairo, (1992), 345-365.
- Khawaga, D., 'The Laity at the Heart of the Coptic Clerical Reform', in Between Desert and City: The Coptic Orthodox Church Today, (eds. Van Doorm, N. and K. Vogt), Oslo, (1997), 143-167.
- Köger, M., 'Die Mittwochabendveranstaltungen von Papst Shenouda III in Kairo', in Orientalische Christen zwischen Repression und Migration: Beiträge zur jüngeren Geschichte und Gegenwartslage, (ed. M. Tamcke), Studien zur Orientalischen Kirchengeschichte 13, Münster, (2001), 185-199.
- Köger, M., 'Die Koptische Orthodoxe Kirche mit ihren interkonfessnellen Beziehungen', in Internationale Kirchliche Zeitung, Heft 2, (2001), separate print.
- Köger, M., 'Ihr seid das Salz der Erde…Über die Entstehung des Koptischen Orthodoxen Bishofamtes für Öffentliche und Soziale Dienste', in Koexistenz und Konfrontation (ed. M. Tamcke), Hamburg (2003), 109-156.
- Laanatza, M., Mejdell, G., Stagh, M., Vogt, K., K and B. Wistrand (eds.), Egypt under Pressure, Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala, (1986).
- Legrand, H.M., 'Le renouveau copte', Istina, no 2, (1961-2), 133-150.
- Masson, J., 'Canon du Statut Personnel des Coptes Orthodoxes', OCP XXVIII/I, (1962), 49-74; XXVIII/II, 336-361.
- Masson, J., 'A la suite de la réforme du droit copte du divorce', OCP XLIII, (1977), 442-449.
- Masson, J., 'Les trente ans de règne de Shenouda III, Pape d'Alexandrie et de toute l'Afrique', POC 51/3-4, (2001), 317-332.
- Mayeur-Jaouen, C., and B. Voile, 'Les paradoxes du renouveau copte dans l'Egypte contemporaine', in Chrétiens du monde arabe, (ed. B. Heyberger), Paris, (2003), 163-178.
- Megally, F., 'Synod, Holy', CE 7, (1991), 2193-4.
- Megally, F., 'Benevolent Societies, Coptic', CE 2, (1991) 374-375.
- Meinardus, O., 'A Brief History of the Abunate of Ethiopia, Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, 58 (1962), 39-65.
- Meinardus, O., 'The emergence of the Laymen's Movement in the Coptic Church: the Maglis al-Milli', Publications de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales de la Bibliothèque Patriarcale d'Alexandrie, 12, (1963), 75-92.
- Meinardus, O., 'The Attitudes of the Orthodox Copts towards the Islamic State from the 7th to the 12th century', OkSt 13, 2/3 (1964), 153-170.
- Meinardus, O., 'Das unterirdische Patriarchat im Hârat Zuwailah', KMT 4/4, (1995), 35-36.
- Meinardus, O., 'Das koptische Patriarchat in Griechen-Viertel', KMT 5/1, (1996), 40-41.
- Meinardus, O., 'Das Ezbekiah-Patriarchat: Sprung in die Neuzeit', KMT 5/2, (1996), 41-42.
- Meinardus, O., Patriarchen unter Nasser und Sadat, Deutsches Orient-Institut, Hamburg, 55, (1998).
- Mina, M., Maglis Milli, History, Authority, Organization, Cairo, (1961), (in Arabic).
- Moussa, Bishop, Youth Services of the Bishopric of Youth, Coptic Orthodox Church of Egypt, Cairo, (undated).
- Munier H., Recueil des Listes Episcopales de l'Eglise Copte, Cairo (1943).
- Muyser, J., 'Contribution à l'étude des listes épiscopales', BSAC 10, (1944), 115-176.
- Nispen (van), C., 'Conférenciers musulmans dans les Eglises égyptiennes', POC, 49 (1999), 68-80.
- Pamphlet published for the 25th anniversary of the episcopate or social and ecumenical services, Cairo, (1986).
- Radi, S., 'L'image de l'Occident chez les prêcheurs musulmans et coptes au Caire, aujourd'hui', Egypte/Monde Arabe, (CEDEJ, Cairo), 30-31 (1997), 145-157.
- Reiss, W., 'Neue Formen des Episkopats in der Koptisch-Orthodoxen Kirche', in Horizonte der Christenheit, (ed. M. Kohlbacher and M. Lesinski), Erlangen,(1995), 550-60.
- Reiss, W., 'Vereinbarung zwischen der Koptisch-orthodoxen und der Eritreisch-Orthodoxen Kirche', in Daheim und in der Fremde, (ed. M. Tamcke), Hamburg (2002), 261-275. See also www.wolfram-reiss.de

- Sadek, A. and B., 'Anaphora: une vision', LMC 33 (2003), 149-156.
- Seikaly, S., Coptic Communal Reform 1860-1914', Middle Eastern Studies, 6, (1970), 247-275.
- Semaan Freig, E., 'Statut personnel et autonomie des Chrétiens en Egypte', POC 24 (1974), 251-295 (summary of a thesis, Rome 1973).
- Sidarouss, S., Des Patriarcats. Les Patriarcats dans l'Empire ottoman et spécialement en Egypte, Paris, (1907), (see 3/2 'Sécularisation en Egypte' 346-360; 'wakf', 377-378; '1883 Decree', 412-419).
- Simaika, M., 'The awakening of the Coptic Church', The Contemporary Review, 71, (1897), 734-747.
- Sobhy, G., 'Education in Egypt during the Christian Period and amongst the Copts', BSCA 9, (1943), 103-122.
- Stene, N., 'Becoming a Copt: The Integration of Coptic Children into the Church Community', in Between Desert and City: The Coptic Orthodox Church Today, (Van Doorm, N. and K. Vogt eds.), Oslo, (1997), 190-211.
- Strothmann, R., Die koptische Kirche in der Neuzeit, (reprint Nendeln 1966).
- Thorbjornsrud, B., Controlling the Body to Liberate the Soul. Towards an Analysis of the Coptic Orthodox Concept of the Body, (Dr., Univesity of Oslo, Faculty of Art), (1999).
- Van Doorm, N. and K. Vogt (eds.), Between Desert and City: The Coptic Orthodox Church Today, Oslo, (1997).
- Vogt, K., 'Religious Revival and Political Mobilization: Development of the Coptic Community in Egypt', in Egypt under Pressure. A Contribution to the understanding of economic, social and cultural aspects of Egypt today, (Laanatza, M., Mejdell, G., Stagh, M., Vogt, K., K and B. Wistrand, eds), Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala, (1986).
- Wakin, E., A Lonely Minority. The Modern Story of Egypt's Copts, New York, (1963).
- Zanetti, U., 'Y eut-il des diaconesses en Egypte ?', in Vetera Christianorum, 27, (1990), 369-373.
- Zotenberg, M.H., Chronique de Jean, Evêque de Nikiou, Paris, (1879).
- Wadie El Raheb, M., 'Activités chrétiennes du quartier de Choubra', LMC 17, (1990), 43-46.

Sunday School and Youth Movement

- Assad, M., Education in the Coptic Orthodox Church. Strategies for the Future, (thesis, Columbia University, 1970).
- Assad, M., 'Coptic Orthodox Benevolent Societies. Their role in Church and society in the 20th century', Madares al-Ahad Magazine, no 9/10, Cairo (2001), 71-87. (in Arabic)
- Coudougnan, G., Nos Ancêtres les Pharaons… ; L'Histoire Pharaonique et Copte dans les Manuels Scolaires Egyptiens, Dossier du CEDEJ, Cairo, (1988).
- Köger, M., 'Das koptische orthodoxe Jugendbishofsamt zwischen Traditionsvermittlung und Verantwortung für junge ägyptische Bürger', in Daheim und in der Fremde (ed. M. Tamcke), Hamburg (2002), 187-252.
- Macari al-Syriani (Fr.), Ancient and Contemporary Christian Education in the Coptic Church of Egypt (Master's thesis, Princeton Theological Seminary), (1955).
- Nessim, S., History of Coptic Education), (thesis in Ain Shams University, Cairo, published in Arabic in 1963).
- Nessim, S., 'Education, Coptic', CE 3, (1991), 931-933.
- Morcos, S., 'The History of the Sunday School Service and Its Educational Impact from 1900 until 1950', in The Sunday School Magazine (Magalet Madares al-Ahad), no 9/10, (1984), 72-85. (in Arabic)
- Morcos, S., 'The History of Sunday School Movement', Speech given at the Jubilee of the Theological Seminary in Novembre 1993 in Saint Mark Cathedral, Cairo (not published).
- Reiss, W., 'Geschichte und Entwicklung der Sonntagsschulen in der Koptisch-Orthodoxen Kirche', Der Christliche Osten 47/5, (1992), 244-249.
- Reiss, W., Erneuerung in der Koptisch-Orthodoxen Kirche. Die Geschichte der Koptisch Orthodoxen Sonntagsschulbewegung, Hamburg, (1998), (English summary in Religious News Service from the Arab World (RNSAW), Week 46 (2002), Edition November 15-21, (2002), 39-67).
- Reiss, W., 'Das Christentum in Schulbüchern islamisch geprägter Länder', in Daheim und in der Fremde (ed. M. Tamcke), Hamburg (2002), 57-65. See also www.religioscope (8 . 11. 2002)
- Reiss, W., 'Das Bishofsamt für Jugend in der Koptisch-Orthodoxen Kirche', in Koexistenz und Konfrontation (ed. M. Tamcke), Hamburg (2003), 157-168.
- Yanney, R., 'Light in Darkness: Life of Archdeacon Habib Guirguis (1876-1951), Coptic Church Review 5, (1984), 47-52.

Mission and Diaspora

- Abdel Sayyed, G. (Fr.)., 'A Coptic Pope in North America. A Historical Analysis', COP 1, (1981), 56-64.
- Coptic Encyclopedia, 'Coptic Migration', 1620-4.
- Antonius Markos, (Bishop), 'Developments in Coptic Orthodox Missiology', Missiology 17, (1989), 203-215.

- Antonius Markos, (Bishop), 'History of the Coptic Church in Africa', COP 9 (1989), 89-93.
- Antonius Markos (Bishop), The Story of the Coptic Church in Africa in our Present Time, Bishopric of African Affairs, I, (1995), II (1996).
- Antonius Markos, (Bishop), An Introduction into Theology of Mission, Johannesburg/Cairo, (2001).
- Antonius Markos, (Bishop), The Story of the Coptic Church in Africa, Book 3, 1991-2003, Johannesburg/Cairo, (2003).
- Assad, M., 'Coptic Church and Social Change in Egypt', IRM, 61, (1972), 117-122.
- Assad, M., 'Mission in the Coptic Church. Perspective, Doctrine and Practice', Mission Studies 4/1 (1987), 21-34.
- Attia, M., 'History of the Coptic Orthodox Church in Australia from 1969 to 1989', Saint George Youth Magazine, 8/1, Sydney, (1989).
- Attia, M., Coptic Orthodox Church of Australia, 1969-1994, Sydney, (1995).
- Barbulesco, L., 'Les Coptes de l'étranger: mahgar ou diaspora?', in La participation politique de la communauté copte d'Egypte (1881-1981). Attitudes collectives et orientations idéologiques.
- Bingham-Kolenkow, A., 'The Copts in the United States of America', in Between Desert and City: The Coptic Orthodox Church Today, (eds. Van Doorm, N. and K. Vogt), Oslo, (1997), 266-274.
- Brehm, A.E., 'Chartum und seine Bewohner', Zeitschrift für allg. Erdk., (Berlin), VI, (1856), 38.
- Bullock, Story of the Church of Egypt, II, 368.
- Burmester, O., 'The Copts in Cyprus', BSAC, 7 (1942), 9-13.
- Chaillot, C., 'Les Coptes d'Australie', LMC, 20, (1992), 117-119.
- Chaillot, C., 'Activités missionnaires de l'Eglise copte en Afrique', LMC, 20, (1992), 99-103.
- Damian (Bishop), 'Die Koptische Kirche in Deutschland', in Ägypten und Nubien in Spätantiker and Christlicher Zeit, Akten des 6. internationalen Koptologenkongress, Wiesbaden, vol. 1, (1999), 486-7.
- Gayed, N., 'The Coptic Orthodox Church in Australia', COP 9, (1989), 95-97.
- Girgis. S.F., A short introduction to the Coptic Orthodox Church in Alexandria, Zürich, (1987).
- Johannes El Baramousy, 'Die Koptisch-Orthodoxe Kirche', in Wege zum Heil ?, (ed. J. Hirnsperger), Graz, (2001).
- Kamil, M., 'La Dernière Phase des Relations Historiques entre l'Eglise Copte et celle d'Ethiopie, BSAC 14, (1958), 2-22.
- Le Monde Copte, 23, (1993), Dossier 'Egypte et Terre Sainte'.
- Marcos, M.A. (Fr.), 'The Copts of Canada', COP 1, (1981), 65-75.
- Marcos, M.A. (Fr.), The Forty Years Journey of the Coptic Orthodox Church to North America: 1964-2004, Toronto, (2005).
- Megally, F., 'The Coptic Church in Britain', COP 11, (1990), 73-76.
- Meinardus, O., 'The Copts in Cyprus', BSAC 7, (1942), 9-13.
- Meinardus, O., The Copts in Jerusalem, (1960).
- Meinardus, O., 'The Coptic Church and African Missions, OrCh , 51, (1967), 97-100.
- Meinardus, O., 'The Coptic Church towards the End of the 20th Century: From a National to an International Community', Ekklesia kai Theołogia, 12 (1991), 431-472.
- Meinardus, O., 'Der Erhalt der koptischen Identität zur Jahrtausendwende', KMT 4/3, (1995), 42.
- Meinardus, O., 'Die christlichen Königreiche Nubiens', KMT 5/4, (1996), 42-44.
- Mina, J., A Glorious Past, A Brilliant Future, (2002), compiled by the Melbourne diocese.
- Reiss, W., 'Koptisch-Orthodoxe Kirche in Deutschland: Weihe eines neuen Bischofs', KNA/ÖKI 32, 1/8, (1995), 20.
- Reiss, W., 'Die Koptisch-Orthodoxe Kirche an der Wende zum 21. Jahrhundert: Von einer Nationalkirche zu einer internationalen christlichen Konfession', in Orientalische Christen zwischen Repression und Migration (ed. M. Tamcke), Hamburg (2001), 201-210.
- Surial, S., (Fr.), 'The Copts in Germany', COP 9, (1989), 87-88.
- Stene, N., 'Into the Lands of Immigration', in Between Desert and City: The Coptic Orthodox Church Today, (eds. Van Doorm, N. and K. Vogt), Oslo, (1997), 255-265.
- Wahba, Z., 'The Copts in the Diaspora with Emphasis on the United States of America', Ägypten and Nubien in spätantiker und christilicher Zeit, (Emmel ed.), (6th Congress of Coptology in Münster, 1996), Wiesbaden, I (1999), 527-533.
- Wahba, Z., 'The Life of the Coptic Church outside Egypt, with Emphasis on the USA', ICCopt 7 Leiden (2000), published in 2004, 989-999.
- Wit, P. De, 'Coptic Asylum Seekers in the Netherlands: Current Policy and Counter Arguments, ICCopt 7 Leiden (2000), published in 2004, 1001-1007.
- Yanney, R., 'The Copts in the USA', COP 9 (1989), 65-70.
- Zakaria, Z.W., 'The Copts in the diaspora with emphasis on the United States of America', in Ägypten und Nubien in Spätantiker and Christlicher Zeit, Akten des 6. internationalen Koptologenkongress, Wiesbaden, vol. 1, (1999), 527-33.

Languages, Literature and Studies

- Abullif, W., 'Bibliografia commentata sugli Aulad al-Assal, Tre fratelli scrittori del sec. XIII', SOCC 18 (1985), 31-79.
- Abullif, W., 'Vita e opera del pensatore copte al-Safi al-Assal', SOCC 20 (1987), 121-161.
- Amélineau, E., Contes et Romans de l'Egypte chrétienne, Paris, (1888).
- Amélineau, E., Œuvres de Schenoudi, Paris, (1907), 2 vols.
- Anawati, G., 'The Christian Communities in Egypt during the Middle Ages' in Conversion and Continuity: Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands, (Gervers/Bikhazi, eds.), Toronto, (1990), 237-251.
- Anawati, G., 'Les Coptes', Le Christianisme et la Civilisation Arabe, (1992), 255-297. (in Arabic)
- Assad, M., 'Coptic Magazines that Ceased Publication' (Al-Magalat Al-Kibtiya Alati Tawakafat 'an Al-Zohour, in The Encyclopedia of Coptic Heritage, (Mawsou'at min Terath Al-Kibt, Dar al-Kiddis Yohanna Al-Habib Lil-Nashr), (2004), Vol. 4, 259– 264. (in Arabic)
- Assad, M., 'Coptic Magazines that Continue to Be Published' (Al-Magalat Al-Kibteiya alati Yatawasal Zohoraha), in The Encyclopedia of Coptic Heritage, (Mawsou'at min Terath Al-Kibt, Dar al-Kiddis Yohanna Al-Habib Lil-Nashr), (2004), Vol. 4, 265 – 271. (in Arabic)
- Assfalg, J., and P. Krüger, Petit Dictionnaire de l'Orient Chrétien, Brepols, (1991).
- Atiya, A., 'Literature, Copto-Arabic', CE, 5, 1460-1467.
- Aufrère, S., and N. Bosson, 'Du hiéroglyphique au copte', L'Archéologue- Archéologie Nouvelle, 43, (1999), 35-38.
- Bardy, G., 'Aux origines de l'Ecole d'Alexandrie', Recherches de science religieuse 27, (1937), 65-90.
- Basta, M., 'Iqladiyus Labib', CE, (1991), 1302.
- Benazeth, 'Les grandes collections coptes', in L'Art copte en Egypte, Paris, (2000), 233-7.
- Björnesjö, S., 'L'arabisation de l'Egypte: le témoignage papyrologique', Egypte/Monde Arabe, (CEDEJ, Cairo), 27-28, (1996), 93-106.
- Bosson, N., 'Guillaume Bonjour, Elenta Copticae seu Aegyptiacae: première grammaire scientifique de la langue copte', ICCopt 7 Leiden (2000), published in 2004, 39-57.
- Boud'hors, A., S. Bacot, 'Langue et littérature', Les Coptes. Vingt siècles de civilisation chrétienne en Egypte, in Les Dossiers d'Archéologie, 226, (1997), 50-59.
- Boud'hors, A., 'L'écriture, la langue et les livres', L'art copte en Egypte. 2000 ans de Christianisme, (M.H. Rutschowscaya and D. Bénazeth, eds.), Paris (2000), 52-91.
- Boud'hors, A., (ed.), Pages chrétiennes d'Egypte, les manuscrits des Coptes, Paris, (2004).
- Boud'hors, A., 'Paléographie et codicologie coptes: progrès et perspectives (1996-2004), ICCopt 8 Paris, (2004).
- Boutros Ghali, W., 'In Memoriam, Mirit Boutros Ghali (1908-1992)', BSCA 32 (1993), 1-10.
- Budge, E.A.W., Coptic Texts, Oxford, (1910, reprint AMS Press, New York 1977 in 5 vols.).
- Cameron, A., 'Wandering Poets: A Literary Movement in Byzantine Egypt', Historia 14 (1965), 470-509.
- Camplani, A., Le Lettere Festali di Atanasio di Alessandria, CIM, (Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari), Rome, (1989).
- Chaîne, M., Eléments de grammaire dialectale copte: bohaïrique, sahidique, achmimique, fayoumique, Paris, (1933).
- Clement of Alexandria, Les Stromates, SC 30, 38, (1951, 1954).
- Coquin, R.G., 'Copte', in Dictionnaire des Littératures françaises et étrangères, (ed. J. Demougin), Paris, (1985), 373-375.
- Coquin, R.G., 'Réflexions sur le Lexique arabe biblique des Coptes', POC, 38/3-4 (1988), 229- 237.
- Coquin, R.G., 'Langue et Littérature arabes chrétiennes', in Christianismes Orientaux. Introduction à l'étude des langues et des littératures, (eds. Albert, M., Beylot, Coquin, Outtier, Renoux, Guillaumont), Paris, (1993), 37-89 (with good bibilography).
- Cribiore, R., 'Greek and Coptic Education in Late Antique Egypt', ICCopt 6 Münster (1996), published in 1999, 279-286.
- Crum, W.E., Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum, London, (1905).
- Crum. W.E., Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts of the John Rylands Library, Manchester, (1909)
- Crum, W.E., A Coptic Dictionary, Oxford, (1939).
- Crum, W.E., 'Coptic Documents in Greek Script', Proceedings of the British Academy 25, London, (1939), 249-271.
- Cuning, M., 'The Liturgy to St. Mark edited from the manuscripts with a commentary', OCA 234, Rome (1990).
- De Lacy O' Leary, D.D., 'Notes on the Coptic Language', Or 3 (1934), 243-258.
- Delaporte, L., Catalogue sommaire des manuscrits coptes de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Revue de l'Orient Chrétien 16, 2/6, (1911), 85-99, 155-60, 239-48, 368-95.
- Demetrius (Bishop), Understand and Pray little by little. Gradual Programme in Teaching the Coptic Grammar, Mallawi, (1995, 1999).
- Depuydt, L., Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library, Leuven, (1993).

- Doresse, J., 'Littérature copte', Encyclopédie de la Pléiade. Histoire des Littératures, I. Littératures anciennes, Paris, (1977), 602-611.
- Du Bourguet, P., 'La littérature copte', Encyclopedia Universalis 4, (1969), 1007-1008.
- Du Bourguet, P., 'Art, Historiography of Coptic', CE, (1991), 254-261.
- Elanskaya, A.I., The Literary Coptic Manuscripts in the Pushkin State Museum in Moscow, Leiden/New York, (1994).
- Emmel, S., An International Directory of Institutions holding Collections of Coptic Antiquities outside of Egypt, Rome, (1990).
- Emmel, S., Shenoute's Literaray Corpus, CSCO 599-600, Leuven , (2004), 2 vol.
- Emmel, S., 'Coptic Studies before Kircher', ICCopt 7 Leiden (2000), published in 2004, 1-11.
- Emmel, S., 'A Report on Progress in the Study of Coptic Literature, 1996-2004', ICCopt 8, Paris (2004).
- Funk, W.P., 'Research and Publication in Linguistics (2000-2004), ICCopt 8, Paris (2004).
- Gawdat, G., 'Christian Arabic Literature of the Copts (1988-92)', in ICCoptS 5, Washington, (1993), I, 51-54.
- Gawdat, G., The Coptic Museum and Old Churches, Cairo, (1993).
- Gawdat, G., 'Langue et Littérature coptes', Egypte/Monde Arabe, (CEDEJ, Cairo), 27-28, (1996), 57-66.
- Gabra, G., The Story of the Coptic Museum', ICCopt 6 Münster (1996), (published 1999), 147-151.
- Ghali, M., 'Le XXV[e] Anniversaire de la Société d'Archéologie Copte' (1934-1959)', BSAC 15 (1958-60), 1-9. For index BSAC see BSAC 23 (1976-78), 26 (1983-4), 27 (1985).
- Giamberardini, G., 'Orientamenti teologici della Chiesa copta', Antonianum 47 (1972), 213-294. (summary of Graf's book in Italian)
- Godlewski, W., 'Late Antique and Medieval Nubia. Selected publications 2000-2004', ICCopt 8 Paris, (2004).
- Goodspeed, E.J., A History of Early Christian Literature, Chicago, (1942, repr. 1966).
- Graf, G., Catalogue des manuscrits arabes chrétiens conservés au Caire, ST 63, Vatican, (1934).
- Graf, G., Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur, 5 vols., Vatican, (1944-1953, reprint 1964-1966) remains the main reference for Christian Arabic Literature.
- Gravit, F.W., 'Peiresc et les études coptes en France au XVIIe siècle', BSAC, 4, (1938), 1-22.
- Guillaumont, A., 'Copte (Littérature spirituelle)', DS 2, Paris, (1952), cols. 2266-78.
- Heijer den, J., 'Mawhub Ibn Mansur et l'historiographie copto-arabe. Etude sur la composition de l'Histoire des Patriarches', CSCO 513, (1989).
- Heijer den, J. , 'Recent Developments in Coptic-Arabic Studies (1992-6)' in Ägypten und Nubien in Spätantiker and Christlicher Zeit, Akten des 6. internationalen Koptologenkongress, Wiesbaden, vol. 2, (1999), 49-64.
- Heinen, H., 'Greeks in Egypt', CE 4, (1991), 1174-79.
- Junker, H., Koptische Poesie des 10. Jahrhunderts, Berlin (1908).
- Junker, H., 'Alte koptische Poesie', BAAEA 2, (1936), 25-37.
- Kakovkine, A., 'La première exposition copte en Russie', CEC 8, (1995), 63-74.
- Kamil, M., 'Translations from Arabic in Ethiopic Literature', BSAC 7, (1941), 61-71.
- Kamil, M., Aspects de l'Egypte copte, Berliner Byzantinische Arbeiten 31, Berlin (1965).
- Karpozilos, D., 'A Coptic Trisagion from Egypt', OCP 39/2 (1973), 454-460.
- Kasser, R., 'La pénétration des mots grecs dans la langue copte', Wissentschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Witteneberg, Reihe 15, Halle, (1966), 419-425.
- Kasser, R., 'Les dialectes coptes', BIFAO 73, (1973), 71-101.
- Kasser, R., 'Réflexions sur l'histoire de la littérature copte', Mus 88, (1975), 375-385.
- Kasser, R., 'Le copte vraiment vivant', BSAC 28, (1986-89), 11-50.
- Kasser, R., article 'Language(s), Coptic', CE 8, 145-51; article 'Bohairic', CE, 53-60; article 'Sahidic', CE 8, 194-202.
- Khater, A., and O. Burmester, Catalogue of the Coptic and Christian Arabic MSS. Preserved in the Cloister of Saint Menas at Cairo, (= Publications de la Société d'Archéologie Copte, Bibliothèque de manuscrits, 1), Cairo, 1967.
- Khater, A., and O. Burmester, Catalogue of the Coptic and Christian Arabic MSS. Preserved in the Library of the Church of the All-Holy Virgin Mary Known as Qasrîat ar-ri¡ân at Old Cairo, (=Publications de la Société d'archéologie copte, Bibliothèque de manuscrits, 2), Cairo, 1973.
- Khater, A., and O. Burmester, Catalogue of the Coptic and Christian Arabic Mss. Preserved in the Library of the Church of Saints Sergius and Bacchus Known as Abû Sarõah at Old Cairo, (=Publications de la Société d'Archéologie Copte. Bibliothèque de Manuscrits, 3), Cairo, 1977.
- Khawaga, D., 'Le renouveau copte et l'édition', Bulletin du CEDEJ 25, Cairo, (1989), 111-116.
- Krause, M., 'International Congresses of Coptic Studies', CE, (1991), 1300-1301.

- Krause, M., 'Art. Kopten, Sprache und Literatur', in Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche, 6, (1997), 360-362.
- Shisha-Halevy, A., article 'Sahidic', CE 8, 194-202.
- Lantschoot, A. van, 'Un précurseur d'Athanasius Kircher: Thomas Obicini et la scala vaticana copte 71', Bibliothèque du Muséon 22, Louvain, (1948).
- Layton, B., Catalogue of Coptic Literary Manuscripts in the British Library acquired since the Year 1906, London, (1987).
- Layton, B., A Coptic Grammar with Chrestomathy and Glossary: Sahidic Dialect, Wiesbaden, (2000).
- Lefebvre, G., Recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes d'Egypte, IFAO, (1907).
- Lefort, L.T., 'Saint Athanase écrivain copte', Le Muséon, 46, (1933), 1-33.
- Le Monde Copte 24 (1994), Dossier 'Langue et Littérature coptes'.
- Le Monde Copte 27-28, (1997), Dossier 'Alexandrie'.
- Leroy, L. and S. Grébaut, L'Histoire des Conciles de Sévre ibn al-Moqaffa, PO 6/4, (1911), 469-640.
- Louca, A., 'Champollion entre Bartholdi et Chiftichi', in Rivages et Déserts, Hommage à Jean Berque, Paris, (1988), 209-225.
- Louca, A., 'Ya'qub et les Lumières', La révolution française et le monde arabo-islamique, Colloque in Cairo, May 1989, Revue du Monde Musulman et de la Méditerranée 52-53, (1989), 63-76.
- Louca, A., 'Clandestins du romantisme 1801-51'; and 'Champollion entre Bartholdi et Chiftigi', in L'autre Egypte. De Bonaparte à Taha Hussein, (to be published by IFAO, Cairo).
- Lucchesi, E., Répertoire des Manuscrits Coptes (Sahidiques) Publiés de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, CdO, Genève, (1981).
- Lucchesi, E., 'Chénoute a-t-il écrit en grec ?', in Mélanges Antoine Guillaumont, Genève, (1988), 201-10.
- Malinine, M. (ed.), Coptic Studies in Honor of W.E. Crum, The Bulletin of the Byzantine Institute, II, Boston (1950).
- Mallan, S.C., A Short History of the Copts and their Church, London, (1873).
- Mallon, A., 'Ibn al-Assal', Journal Asiatique, 10/6, (1905), 509-529.
- Mallon, A., Grammaire Copte, Beirut, (1956).
- Meinardus, O., 'Illuminata of the XIIIth to XIXthCentury Coptic Mansucripts of the Monastery of Saint Macarius in Scetis', SOCC 10, (1965), 495-508.
- Meinardus, O., 'Missionare, Bibliophile und Forscher in den koptischen Klöster des Wadi 'n-Natrun', KMT 11/3, (2002), 38-45.
- Meinardus, O., 'Die Festung Babylon und das Koptische Museum von Alt-Kairo', KMT 12/1, (2003), 47-50.
- Mikhail, M., 'An Historical Definition for the 'Coptic Period'', ICCopt 7 Leiden (2000), (published in 2004), 971-981.
- Munier, H., 'Gaston Maspéro et les études coptes', Bulletin de l'Association des amis des églises et de l'art copte, 1, (1935), 27-36.
- Orlandi. T., Elementi di Lingua e letteratura Copta, Milan, (1970).
- Orlandi. T., 'Patristica copta e patristica greca', Vetera Christianorum 10, (1973), 327-341.
- Orlandi, T., 'Basilio di Cesarea nella letteratura copta', Rivista degli Studi Orientali 49, (1975), 49-58.
- Orlandi, T., 'Coptic Literature', in The Roots of Egyptian Christianity, (eds. B.A. Pearson and J. Goehring), Philadelphia, (1986), 51-81.
- Orlandi, T., 'The Study of Coptic Literature, 1976-1988', in ICCoptS 4, (Louvain-la-Neuve 1988), II, 211-23.
- Orlandi, T., 'Shenoute d'Atripe', DS 14, Paris (1989), 797-804.
- Orlandi, T., 'La patrologia copta', in Complementi interdisciplinari di Patrologia, (ed. A. Quacquarelli), Rome, (1989).
- Orlandi, T., 'Egyptian Monasticism and the Beginnings of the Coptic Literature', in Carl-Schmidt Kolloquium 1988, (P. Nagel, ed.), Halle, (1990), 129-142.
- Orlandi, T., 'Traduzioni dal greco al copto: quali et perché', in Autori classici in lingue del Vicino e Medio Oriente. Atti del III, IV^{e} V Seminario…, (G. Fiaccadori, ed.), 93-104, Roma, (1990).
- Orlandi, T., 'Coptic Literature', CE, vol. 5, 1450-1460, (1991).
- Orlandi, T., 'The Study of Biblical and Ecclesiasitical Literature (1988-92), in ICCoptS 5, Washington, (1993), I, 129-50.
- Orlandi, T., 'Letteratura Copta e Cristianesimo Nazionale Egiziano', in L'Egitto Cristiano. Aspetti e Problemi in Età tardo-antica, (ed. A. Camplani), Rome, (1997), 39-120.
- Orlandi, T., 'Lo studio della Letteratura Copta, 1992-1996', in Ägypten und Nubien in Spätantiker and Christlicher Zeit, Akten des 6. internationalen Koptologenkongress, Wiesbaden, vol. 2, (1999), 23-37,
- Orlandi, T., 'The Library of the Monastery of Saint Shenute at Etripe', in Perspectives on Panopolis (Acts of Symposium in Leiden in 1998), Leiden, (2002).
- Orlandi, T., 'Towards a computational grammar of Sahidic Coptic', ICCopt 7 Leiden (2000), (published in 2004), 125-130.

- Orlandi, 'The Progress of Coptic Studies from 1996 to 2004', ICCopt 8 Paris (2004).
- Périer, J., (tr.) La Perle précieuse traitant des sciences ecclésiastiques, (by Yuhanna Ibn Zacharia Ibn Sabba), PO 16, (1922), 593-760.
- Pleyte, W., Manuscrits coptes à Leide, Leiden, (1897).
- Polotsky, H.J., 'The Coptic Conjugation system', Or 29/4, (1960), 392-422.
- Polotsky, H.J., 'Zur koptischen Wortstelluing', Or 30/3, (1961), 294-313.
- Quatremère, E., Recherches critiques et historiques sur la langue et la littérature de l'Egypte, Paris, (1808).
- Rassart-Debergh, M., 'Le Musée copte', LMC 17, (1990), 25-30.
- Ridolfini, F.P., 'La letteratura copta', in Storia delle letterature d'Oriente, (O. Botto, ed.), Milan, (1969), 705-800.
- Roncaglia, M., Histoire de l'Eglise copte, 4 vols. Beirut, (1966, 1969,1971, 1973).
- Rubenson, S., The Letters of St. Antony, Lund, (1990).
- Rubenson, S., 'Arabic Sources for the Theology of the Early Monastic Movement in Egypt', Paroles de l'Orient XVI, (1991), 33-47.
- Rubenson, S., 'Translating the Tradition. Some Remarks on the Arabization of the Patristic Heritage in Medieval Egypt', Medieval Encounters , 2 (1995), 4-14.
- Rubenson, S., 'The transition from Coptic to Arabic', Egypte/Monde Arabe, (CEDEJ, Cairo), 27-28, (1996), 77-91.
- Rubenson, S., 'Tradition and Renewal in Coptic Theology', in Between Desert and City: The Coptic Orthodox Church Today, (Van Doorm, N. and K. Vogt, eds.), Oslo, (1997), 36-52.
- Samir, K., 'Contribution à l'étude du moyen-arabe des Coptes', Le Muséon 80, (1967), 153-209; 81 (1968), 5-78.
- Samir, K., 'Un traité inédit de Sawirus ibn al-Muqaffa' (10e siècle): 'Le Flambeau de l'Intelligence', OCP XLI, (1975), 150-210.
- Samir, K., 'Le 'Livre des mœurs bienheureuses' retrouvé' OCP 43, (1977), 135-160.
- Samir, K., 'Al-As'ad Ibn al-'Assal copiste de Saint Jean Damascène à Damas en 1230', OCP, 44 (1978), 190-194.
- Samir, K., 'Le Traité de l'Unité de Yahya Ibn 'Adi (893-974)', PAC 2, (1980).
- Samir, K., Actes du premier congrès international d'études arabes chrétiennes (Goslar, 1980), =OCA 218, Rome, (1982). (see also following Congresses)
- Samir, K., 'Traité de Paul de Bush sur l'Unité, la Trinité, l'Incarnation et la Vérité du Christianisme', PAC 4, (1983).
- Samir, K., Date de composition de la Somme Théologique d'al-Mu'taman Ibn al-'Assal', Orientalia Christiana Periodica 50, (1984), 94-106.
- Samir, K., (tr.), 'Ibn al'Assal, 'Brefs chapitres sur la Trinité et l'Incarnation', PO 42/3, (1985).
- Samir, K., 'Le Traité sur la nécessité de l'Incarnation de Yahya Ibn'Adi, in SOCC 18, (1985), 1-29.
- Samir, K., 'Deux citations d'al-Safi Ibn al-Assal au ch. 46 de la Somme Théologique d'al-Mu'taman', OCP LI/I, (1985), 156-162.
- Samir, K., 'Un traité perdu d'al-Safi Ibn al-'Assal sur l'Incarnation du Christ de l'Esprit et de la Vierge Marie', After Chalcedon. Studies in Theology and Church History offered to Prof. Albert van Roey, Leuven (1985), 283-296.
- Samir, K., (ed.), Actes du Deuxième Congrès International d'Etudes Arabes chrétiennes (Osterhesselen, 1984), OrChA 226, Rome, (1986).
- Samir, K., 'Arabic Sources for Early Egyptian Christianity', in The Roots of Egyptian Christianity, (Pearson and Goehring, eds.), Philadelphia, (1986), 82-97.
- Samir, K., 'Bibliographie copte à l'époque médiévale (1982-88)', in ICCoptS 4, Louvain-la-Neuve (1988), II, 82-8.
- Samir, K., L'utilisation des sources dans le Nomocanon d'Ibn al-'AssÇl', Orientalia Christiana Periodica 55, (1989), 101-123.
- Samir, K., 'Christian Arabic Literature in the 'Abbasid Period', in The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature. Religion, Learning and Science in the Abbasid Period, (eds. M. Young, Latham and Sergeant), Cambridge, (1990), 446-460.
- Samir, K., La version arabe des Evangiles d'al-As'ad Ibn al-'Assal, Etude des manuscrits et spécimens', in Actes du 4e Congrès international d'études arabes chrétiennes (Cambridge, septembre 1992), II, (Samir Khalil Samir ed.), Parole de l'Orient 19 (1994) 441-551.
- Samir, K., 'Vie et œuvre de Marc Ibn Al-Qunbar', CBC 9, (1995), 123-158.
- Samir, K., 'L'Encyclopédie liturgique d'Ibn Kabar et son apologie d'usages coptes', Crossroad of Cultures. Studies in Liturgy and Patristics in Honor of Gabriele Winkler, (H.J. Feulner, E. Velkovska and R. Taft eds.), Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 260, (2000), 619-655.
- Samir, K., Un traité nouveau de Sawirus Ibn al-Muqaffa', Parole de l'Orient 25, (2000), 567-641.
- Samir, K., ,La symbolique de l'Arche de Noé dans le commentaire allégorique de Marqus Ibn al-Qunbar (12e siècle)', in

Bible et Patrimoine de l'Orient. Mélanges offerts au P. Paul Feghali, (P. Ayoub Chahwan and A. Kassis eds.), Beirut, (2002), 265-317.
- Samir, K., ‚L'Esprit dans le Commentaire de la Genèse, d'Ibn al-Qunbar, XIIe siècle', in Cedrus Libani, 66/4, (2002), 139-142.
- Samir, K., ‚Les manuscrits arabes. Les Chrétiens du Moyen-Orient et la civilisation arabe', in Icônes arabes art chrétien du Levant. Exposition présentée à l'Institut du Monde Arabe du 6 mai au 17 août 2003, (eds. A. M. de la Croix and F. Zabbal), Paris, (2003), B28- B32.
- Samuel, Bishop (ed.), Abu al-Makarem. History of the Churches and Monasteries in Lower Egypt in the 13th Cent., Cairo, (1992).
- Shisha-Halevy, A., Coptic Grammatical Chrestomathy, Leuven, (1988).
- Shoucri, M., 'Iryan Jirjis Muftah', CE, (1991), 1302.
- Sidarus, A., Ibn ar-Rahibs, Leben und Werk. Ein koptisch-arabischer Enzyklopädist des 13. Jahrhunderts, Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, vol. 36, Freiburg, (1975).
- Sidarus, A., 'Coptic Lexicography of the Middle Ages. The Coptic Arabic Scalae', in The Future of Coptic Studies, (R. Wilson, ed.), Leiden (1978), 125-142.
- Sidarus, A., 'Ibn al-Rahib', The Encyclopaedia of Islam, (1982), suppl., 396-397.
- Sidarus, A., 'Bibliographical Introduction to Medieval Coptic Linguistics', BSAC 29, (1990), 83-85.
- Sidarus, A., 'Les lexiques onomasiologiques gréco-copto-arabes du Moyen Age et leurs origines anciennes', Agypten und Altes Testament, vol. 20, Wiesbaden (1990), 348-359.
- Sidarus, A., 'Essai sur l'âge d'or de la littérature copte arabe', in ICCoptS 5, Washington, 2/2, (1993), 443-462.
- Sidarus, A., 'Contribution des scalae médiévales à la lexicologie copte', in Agypten und Nubien in spätantiker und christlicher Zeit (Akten des 6. Internationalen Koptologenkongresses, Münster, July 1996), Sprachen und Kulturen des Christlichen Orients, vol. 6/2, Wiesbaden, (1999).
- Sidarus, A., Onomastica Aegyptiaca. The tradition of thematic lexicography in Egypt through the ages and languages', BSAC 39, (2000), 11-22.
- Sidarus, A., 'Medieval Coptic Grammars in Arabic: The Coptic muqaddimat', JcoptS 3, (2001), 63-79.
- Sidarus, A., 'The Coptic-Arabic Renaissance in the Middle Ages', Coptica 1, (2002), 141-160.
- Simaika, M., Guide sommaire du Musée Copte, Cairo, (1937).
- Simaika, M., and Abd al-Masih,, Y., Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts in the Coptic Museum, Cairo (1939-1942), 2 t.
- Sobhy, G., 'The Traditional Pronunciation of Coptic in the Church of Egypt,' BSAC, 6, (1940), 109-117.
- Smith, M., 'Coptic literature, 337-425', The Cambridge Ancient History, (A. Cameron and P. Garnsey, eds.), vol. XIII The Late Empire, A .D. 337-425, Cambridge (1998), 720-735.
- Sublet, J., (ed. and trans.), Un fonctionnaire chrétien dans l'administration mamelouke. Ibn al-Suqa'i, Damas, (1974).
- Swanson, M., 'Recent developments in Copto-Arabic Studies 1996-2000', ICCopt 7 Paris, (2004), 239-267.
- Swanson, M., 'Copto-Arabic Studies (2000-2004)', ICCopt 8 Paris (2004).
- Takla, H., 'The Revival and Modernization of the Coptic Language, Bulletin of Saint Shenouda the Archimandrite Coptic Society, 5 (1998-1999), 117-124.
- Takla, H., 'Copto (Bohairic)-Arabic manuscripts: Their Role in the Tradition of the Coptic Church, ICCopt 7 Leiden (2000), published in 2004, 639-646.
- Till, W., Koptische Grammatik, Leizig, (1961).
- Till, W., 'Koptische Literatur', in Koptische Kunst.Christentum am Nil, Essen, (1963), 109-112.
- Troupeau, G., Catalogue des manuscrits arabes, in Manuscrits chrétiens, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, t. I (1972) et II (1974, published in 1975).
- Troupeau, G., 'Arabe chrétienne', in Dictionnaire des Littératures françaises et étrangères, anciennes et modernes (ed. J. Demougin), I, Paris, (1985), 89-90.
- Verbeeck, B., 'Greek language', CE 4, (1991) 1165-1170.
- Vergotte, J., Grammaire copte, Leuven, (1973).
- Villecourt, L., Tisserand and Wiet (eds.), Ibn Kabar, The Lamp of Darkness, PO 20, (1929), 575-734.
- Vivian, T., 'John of Shmun: an Encomium on Saint Antony of Egypt', The Life of Antony, (T. Vivian, A. Athanassakis, eds.), Kalamazoo, (2000).
- Vliet, J. van der, 'Epigraphie chrétienne d'Egypte et de Nubie: Bilan et Perspectives', ICCopt 8 Paris (2004).
- Vycichl, W., Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte, Leuven, (1983).

- Wadi, A., Al-Mu'taman Ibn al-Assal, Summa dei principi della religione, Studia Orientalia Christiana Monogrophiae, Cairo and Jerusalem (3 vols.), (1998-1999).
- Walter, C., An Elementary Coptic Grammar of the Sahidic Dialect, Oxford, (1972).
- Wilfong, T., 'Coptic Papyrology 2000-2004', ICCopt 8 Paris (2004).
- Winter, J.G., Life and Letters in the Papyri, Michigan, (1933).
- Wipszycka, E., 'Le degré d'alphabétisation en Egypte byzantine', in Etudes sur le christianismen dans l'Egypte de l'antiquité tardive, Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum, 52, Rome, (1996).
- Zanetti, U., 'Le livre de Marc Ibn al-Qanbar sur la confession retrouvé', OCP (1983), 426-433.
- Zanetti, U., Les manuscrits de Dair Abû Maqâr, CdO, Geneva, 1986.
- Zakrzewska, E., 'A bibliography of Coptic linguistics and linguistic studies related to Coptic, 1996-2000, ICCopt 7 Leiden (2000), (published in 2004), 27-38.
- Zoega, G., Catalogus codicum copticorum manuscriptorum, Rome (1810, reprint Leipzig 1903).

Canons

- Antonios, A., (ed.), Le Nomocanon de Patriarche copte Gabriel II (1131-1145), 2 vols. (Patrimoine Arabe Chrétien, 12-13), Beirut, (1993).
- Brogi, M., 'Il Patriarca nelle fonti guiridiche arabe della Chiesa Copta', SOC Collectanea 14 (1970-71), 1-161.
- Burmester, O., 'The Canons of Christodoulos, Patriarch of Alexandria (1047-77)', Muséon 45 (1932), 71-84.
- Burmester, O., 'The Canons of Gabriel Ibn Turaik', Muséon 46, (1933), 43-54.
- Burmester, O., 'The Canons of Gabriel Ibn Turaik', OCP 1, (1935), 5-45.
- Burmester, O., OrChrP 1, (1935), 5-45, 315-327.
- Burmester, O., 'The Canons of Cyril II', Muséon 49, (1936), 245-288.
- Burmester, O., 'The Sayings of Michael, Metr. of Damiette', OCP 2, (1936), 101-128.
- Burmester, O., 'The Canons of Cyril III Ibn Laklak', BSAC 12, (1946-7), 81-136; 14 (1950-57), 113-150.
- Cöln, F.J., 'The Nomo-canonical Literature of the Copto-Arabic Church of Alexandria', The Ecclesiasitical Review 56, Washington, (1917), 113-141.
- Giamberardini, G., 'Il Patriarca nelle Fonti giruidiche arabe della Chiesa copta', SOCC 14 (1970-1971), 1-161.
- Meinardus, O., A Study on the Canon Law of the Coptic Church, BSAC 16, (1961-1962), 231-242.
- Riedel, W., and W.E. Crum (eds.), The Canons of Athanasius, (1904, reprint Amsterdam 1973).
- Samir, K., 'L'utilisation des sources dans le Nomocanon d'Ibn al-'Assal', OCP LV, (1989), 101-123.
- Sourial, S., The Sources of the Modern Canon Law (Personal Statute) of the Coptic Orthodox Church, Kanon 1, (1973), 96-111.
- Zanetti, U., 'Abu l-Makarim et Abu Salih', BSCA 34, (1995), 85-138.

Some Travellers

- Andréossi, J.B., Mémoire sur la Vallée des Lacs de Natroun, Paris (1799).
- Bauwens-Préaux, Voyage en Egypte de Joos van Ghistele (1482-1483), Collection des Voyageurs occidentaux en Egypte, IFAO 16, Cairo, (1976)
- Carré, J.M., 'Voyageurs et écrivains français en Egypte', IFAO, Recherche d'Archéologie, 4 and 5, Cairo, (1932).
- Champollion, J.F., Lettres et journaux écrits pendant le voyage d'Egypte, Guernesey (reprint, 1986).
- Curzon, R., Visits to Monasteries in the Levant, London, (1849).
- Granger, Relation du Voyage fait en Egypte, Paris (1745).
- Huntington, R., Voyages en Egypte pendant les années 1678-1701, (reprint IFAO 1981).
- Jullien, R.P.M., L'Egypte, Souvenirs Bibliques et Chrétiens, Lille, (1889).
- Jollois, P. and E. de Villiers, Description de l'Egypte, Paris, (1821).
- Jomard, E., Description de l'Egypte, Paris, (1826).
- Lane, E.W., Description of Egypt, (reprint AUC, Cairo 2000).
- Lane-Poole, S., Social Life in Egypt, A Description of the country and its people, London, (1883).
- Lane-Poole, S., Cairo. Sketches of its History. Monuments and Social Life, London, (1892).
- Martin, M. and S. Sauneron (eds.), Œuvres C. Sicard, IFAO (Bibliothèque d'Etudes), Cairo, (1982).
- Pococke, R., A Description of the East and Some other Countries, vol I., Observations on Egypt, London, (1743).
- Sachsen, Johann Georg, Herzog zu Sachsen, Streifzüge durch die Kirchen und Klöster Ägyptens, Berlin, (1914).
- Sachsen, Johann Georg, Herzog zu Sachsen, Neue Streifzüge durch die Kirchen und Klöster Ägyptens, Berlin, (1930).

- Sachsen, Johann Georg, Herzog zu Sachsen, Neueste Streifzüge durch die Kirchen und Klöster Ägyptens, Berlin, (1931).
- Sicard, C., Lettre du Père Sicard, Paris, (1780).
- Sonnini, C., Travels in Upper and Lower Egypt, London, (1799).
- Starkey, P. and J. (ed.), Travellers in Egypt (19th c.), London (2001).
- Tagher, J. (ed.)., Mémoires de A. B. Clot Bey, Cairo, (1949).
- Thenaud, J., Le Voyage et itinéraire d'Outremer, (1512).
- Thévenot, M., Nouvelle Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant, Paris, (1665).
- Trévisan, D., Relation de Voyage de l'ambassadeur du gouvernement vénitien auprès du grand sultan du Caire, (1512).
- Vansleb, J.M., Histoire de l'Eglise d'Alexandrie, Paris, (1677).
- Vansleb, J.M.., Nouvelle relation en forme de journal d'un voyage fait en Egypte, en 1672 et 1673, Paris, (1677), trans. as The Present State of Egypt, London, (1678, repr. 1972).
- Volney, 0., Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte pendant les années 1783, 1784, 1785, Paris, (1792).
- Volkoff, O., Voyageurs russes en Egpte, IFAO, Cairo, (1972).
- Wilkinson, G., Modern Egypt and Thebes, London, (1843).
- See collection 'Voyageurs occidentaux en Egypte' in IFAO, Cairo, since 1970.

Art

- Badawi, A., Coptic Art and Archaeology, Cambridge, (1978).
- Badawi, A., L'Art copte, IFAO, (1949).
- Badnall, R., and D. Rathbone, Egypt from Alexander to the Copts. An Archaeological and Historical Guide, London, (2004).
- Bénazeth, D., Catalogue général du Musée copte du Caire, MIFAO 119, (2001).
- Bénazeth, D., Baouit: une église copte au Louvre, Paris, (2002).
- Bénazeth, D., 'Actualités des musées et expositions (2000-2004), ICCopt 8, Paris (2004).
- Bolman, E.S., Monastic Visions: Wall Paintings in the Monastery of Saint Antony at the Red Sea, Yale, (2001).
- Cannuyer, C., Coptic Egypt, The Christians of the Nile, London, (2001), 94-98.
- Capuani, M., with Meinardus, Rudschowscaya and Gabra, Christian Egypt. Coptic Art and Monuments Through Two Millenia, Cairo, (2002).
- Clédat, J., 'Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouit', MIFAO 12, (1904).
- Clédat, 'Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouit', (Bénazeth, D., and M. Rutchowscaya, eds.), MIFAO 111, (1999).
- Cramer, M., Koptische Buchmalerei, Recklinghausen, (1964).
- Cramer, M., 'Illuminationen aus koptischen und koptisch-arabischen Tetraevangelien als Typen koptischer Buchmalerei, Or Ch 48, (1964), 77-83.
- Du Bourguet, P., L'Art Copte, Catalogue de l'exposition au Petit Palais, Paris, (1964).
- Du Bourguet, P., L'Art Copte, Paris (1968); English translation in 1971.
- Du Bourguet, P., Catalogue des Etoffes Coptes, Paris, (1964).
- Du Bourguet, P., 'Art and Architecture', CE, (1991), 261-278.
- Du Bourguet, P., 'Museums, Coptic collections', CE, (1991), 1701-15.
- Emmel, S., (ed.), An International Dictionary of Institutions Holding Collections of Coptic Antiquities outside Egypt, (1990).
- Gabra, G., and A. Alcock, The Guide to the Coptic Museum and Ancient Coptic Churches, Cairo, (1993).
- Gabra, G., Art in the Coptic Museum (in English, German and French), Cairo, (2000).
- Gabra, G., Coptic Monasteries, Egypt's Monastic Art and Architecture, Cairo, (2002).
- Gayet, A., 'Les Monuments coptes du Musée de Boulaq', IFAO III/3, (1889).
- Gayet, A., L'Art copte, Paris, (1902).
- Guirguis, M., 'Ibrahim al-Nasih et la culture copte au XVIIIe siècle', ICCopt 7 Leiden (2000), (published in 2004), 939-952.
- Innemée, K., 'Research and Publication in Coptic Art (2000-2004), ICCopt 8 Paris (2004).
- Koptische Kunst. Christentum am Nil, (Exhibition in Essen, Germany in 1963).
- Leroy, J., Les manuscrits coptes illustrés, Paris, (1974).
- Leroy, J., Les peintures des couvents du désert d'Esna, in La Peinture murale chez les Coptes, MIFAO 94, Cairo, (1975).
- LMC 18 and 19, two files on Coptic icons, (1990, 1991).
- LMC 29-31, on Isaac Fanous (2000).
- LMC 33, 'Le trésor du Monastère Saint Antoine', (2003).
- Loon (van), G., The Gate of Heaven. Wall Paintings with Old Testament Scenes in the Altar Room and the Hurus of Coptic Churches, Istanbul, (1999).
- Moorsel van, P., (ed.), Catalogue Général du Musée copte: The Icons, Cairo, (1994).
- Moorsel van, P., Le Monastère de Saint Antoine, IFAO, Cairo, (1995), 2 vols.
- Moorsel van, P., 'Some Words about these Years of Plenty: Fieldwork and Publications on Coptic Art in 1992-1996', ICCopt 6 Münster (1996), (published in 1999), 43-50.
- Moorsel van, P., Called to Egypt. Collected Studies on Paintings in Christian Egypt, Leiden, (2000).
- Moorsel van, P., Le Monastère de Saint Paul près de la Mer Rouge, Mémoires IFAO 120, Cairo, (2002).
- Rudschowscaya, M.H., Tissus Coptes, Paris, (1990).
- Rudschowscaya, M.H., La Peinture copte, Paris, (1992).
- Rutschowscaya, M.H. and D. Bénazeth (eds.), L'art copte en Egypte. 2000 ans de Christianisme, Paris (2000), 52-91, (exhibition in l'Institut du Monde Arabe).
- Rutschowscaya, M.H., 'Naissance et Reconnaissance de l'art et de l'archéologie coptes', L'Art copte en Egypte, Exhibition in Paris, (2000), 19-23.
- Rutchowskaya, M.H., 'Etat des recherches sur l'art copte 1997-2000', ICCopt 7 Leiden (2000), (published 2004), 1121-1139.
- Samuel (Bishop), Guide to Ancient Coptic Churches and Monasteries in Upper Egypt, Cairo, (1990).
- Samuel (Bishop), Ancient Coptic Churches and Monasteries in Delta, Sinai and Cairo, Cairo (1996).
- Simaika (Pasha), A Brief Guide to the Coptic Museum and to the Principal Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo, Cairo (1930).
- Skalova, Z., and G. Gabra, Icons of the Nile Valley, Cairo, (2003).
- Wessel, K., Coptic Art, New York, (1965).
- Zibawi, M., Orients Chrétiens, Paris, (1995).
- Zibawi, M., Images de l'Egypte chrétienne. Iconologie copte, Paris, (2003).
- See the Catalogues of Exhibitions on Coptic Art such as Beyond the Pharaos: Egypt and the Copts in the 2nd to 7th Centuries AD, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence (1988); and L'art copte en Egypte; 2000 ans de Christianisme, Paris, (2000); and Collections such as in Carroll, D., Looms and Textiles of the Copts: First Millennium Egyptian Textiles in the Carl Austin Rietz Collection of the California Academy of Sciences (1988).
- See the publications of the international Institutes in Cairo.
- Guide books: Baedeker, Le Guide Bleu, Guide by Gallimard, Lonely Planet.

Liturgical Life

- Abdallah, A., L'Ordinamento Liturgico di Gabriele V-88 Patriarca Copto, in Studia Orientalia Christiana. Aegyptica, Cairo, (1962).
- Abd Al Masih, Y., 'Doxologies in the Coptic Church', BSAC IV, (1938), 97-113, V (1939), 175-191; VI (1940), 19-76; VII (1942), 31-61; XI (1945), 95-158.
- Abd Al Masih, Y., 'The hymn of the three children in the furnace', BSAC XII (1946-1947), 1-15.
- Abd Al Masih, Y., 'The Canon of the Resurrection', BSAC 14 (1950-57), 23-35.
- Akim, H., 'The Orthodox Faith in the Liturgies and Prayers of the Coptic Church', in Does Chalcedon divide or unite?, Conseil Oecuménique des Eglises, Geneva, (1981), 107-120.
- Alexander, A., 'The Assumption in the liturgy of the Church of Alexandria', ECQ 9, (1951-1952), 93-101.
- Alla, W.H., Le baptême des enfants dans la tradition de l'Eglise copte d'Alexandrie, Fribourg, (1985).
- Alla, W.H., 'Discours pour la fête de la Croix attribué à Saint Cyrille d'Alexandrie', OC 75, (1991), 166-197.
- Andrawiss, W.M., 'Le sacrement de mariage selon le canon et le rite copte', in Le Mariage. Conférences Saint Serge 1993, Paris, (1994), 13-27.
- Assfalg, J. (ed.), Die Ordnung des Priestertums, Ein altes liturgisches Handbuch der koptischen Kirche, Cairo, (1955).
- Atanassova, D., 'Zu den Sahidischen Pascha-Lektionaren', ICCopt 7 Leiden (2000), published in 2004, 607-620.
- Badawi, A., 'La stèle funéraire copte à motif architectural', BSAC 11, (1945), 1-25.
- Ballin, C., L'office copte. L'office des heures, l'offrande de l'encens, la psalmodie annuelle (unpublished licentiate thesis, Pontifical Oriental Institute, Rome, (1979).
- Baumstark, A., 'Die Wasserweihe an Epiphanie nach dem koptischen Ritus', KM, 9-10 (1909), 1-5.
- Baumstark, A., 'Ein griechischarabisches Perikopenbuch des koptischeb Ritus', OC II, (1913), 142-144.
- Baumstark, A., 'Drei griechische Passionsgesänge ägyptischer Liturgie', OrCh 3-4, (1930), 69-78.
- Baumstark, A., 'Die quadragesimale alttestamentliche Schriftlesung des koptischen Ritus', OrCh 3-4, (1930), 37-58.
- Beaurecueil, S. de, 'La réconciliation dans la liturgie dominicale copte', CC 5, (1954), 16-20.

- Beaurecueil, S. de, 'La Prière Eucharistique dans la liturgie égyptienne de Saint Basile', CC 6, (1954), 6-12.
- Beaurecueil, S. de, 'La Prière Eucharistique dans la liturgie égyptienne de Saint Grégoire', CC 7-8, (1954), 6-10.
- Bénazeth, D., 'Les coutumes funéraires', in L'art copte en Egypte. 2000 ans de Christianisme, (M.H. Rutschowscaya and D. Bénazeth, eds.), Paris (2000), 105-145.
- Borsai, I., 'Caractéristiques générales du chant de la messe copte', SOCC 14, (1970-1971), 413-442.
- Borsai, I., 'Un type mélodique particulier des hymnes coptes du mois de Kiakh', Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 13, (1972), 73-85.
- Borsai, I., 'Le tropaire byzantin 'O Monogenes' dans la pratique du chant copte', Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 14, (1972), 329-54.
- Borsai, I., 'Y a-t-il un 'octaechos' dans le système de chant copte ?', Studia Aegyptica I, (1974), 39-53.
- Borsai, I., 'Music of the Coptic Rite', The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 6th ed., vol. 4, Washington, (1980).
- Bradshaw, P.F., Ordination Rites of the Ancient Churches of east and west, New York, (1990).
- Brakmann H., 'Zu den Fragmenten einer griechischen Basileios-Liturgie aus dem koptischen Makarios-Kloster', Or Ch 66, (1982), 118-143.
- Brakmann H., 'La 'mystagogie' de la liturgie alexandrine et copte', Conférence Saint Serge 1992, Rome, (1993), 55-65.
- Brakmann H., 'Le déroulement de la messe copte'. Structure et histoire', Conférences Saint Serge in Paris 1994, Rome, (1995), 107-132.
- Brakmann, H., 'Die Kopten-Kirche Jesu Christi in Ägypten. Ihre Geschichte und Liturgie,' Die koptische Kirche, (Gerhards und Brakmann, eds.), Stuttgart, (1994), 9-27 and 196-221.
- Brakmann, H., 'Neue Funde und Forschungen zur Liturgie der Kopten (1984-1988) in ICCoptS 4, Louvain-la-Neuve (1988), 2, (1992), 419-435.
- Brakmann, H., 'Neue Funde und Forschungen zur Liturgie der Kopten (1988-1992) in ICCoptS 5, Washington (1993), 1, 9-32.
- Brakmann, H., 'Neue Funde und Forschungen zur Liturgie der Kopten (1992-1996), in Ägypten und Nubien in Spätantiker and Christlicher Zeit, Akten des 6. internationalen Koptologenkongress, Münster, Wiesbaden, vol. 1, (1999), 451-64.
- Brakmann, H., 'Zwischen Pharos und Wüste. Die Erforschung alexandrinisch-ägyptischer Liturgie durch und nach Anton Baumstark', in Acts of the International Congress Comparative Liturgy Fifty Years after Anton Baumstark (1872-1948), (R. F. Taft and G. Winkler, eds.), Rome, 25-29 September 1998 = Orientalia Christiana Analecta 265, 323-376.
- Brakmann, H., 'Neue Funde und Forschungen zur Liturgie der Kopten', (1996-2000), ICCopt 7 Leiden (2000), published in 2004, 575-606.
- Brakmann, H., 'Neue Funde und Forschungen zur Liturgie der Kopten', (2000-2004), ICCopt 8, Paris.
- Brakmann, H., Kleine koptische Liturgiegeschichte/A Short History of the Coptic Liturgy/Petite Histoire de la Liturgie des Coptes (in preparation).
- Brightman, F.E. (ed.), Liturgies Eastern and Western, Oxford, (1896).
- Brogi, M., 'La santa salmodia annuale della chiesa copta', Studia Orientalia Christiana, Aegyptiaca, Cairo (1962).
- Budde, A., Die ägyptische Basilios-Anaphora, Münster, (2004), (see bibliography).
- Burmester, O.H.E., 'A Coptic lectionary poem', Muséon 43, (1930), 373-385.
- Burmester, O.H.E., 'Homilies or exhortations of the Holy Week Lectionary', Muséon 45, (1932), 21-70.
- Burmester, O.H.E, 'Two services of the Coptic Church attributed to Peter, bishop of Behnesa', Muséon 45, (1932), 235-254.
- Burmester, O.H.E., 'Le Lectionnaire de la Semaine Sainte', P.O. t. 24, (1933), t. 25 (1943).
- Burmester, O.H.E., 'The office of genuflexion of Whitsunday', Le Muséon, tome 47, (1934), 205-57.
- Burmester, O.H.E., 'Vesting Prayers and Ceremonies of the Coptic Church', OCP 1, (1935), 305-314.
- Burmester, O.H.E., 'The Greek Kirugmata, Versicles and Responses, and Hymns in the Coptic Liturgy', Orientalia Christiana Periodica, 2, (1936), 363-394.
- Burmester, O.H.E., 'The Canonical Hours of the Coptic Church', Orientalia Christiana Periodica, 2, (1936), 78-100.
- Burmester, O.H.E., 'The Turûhât of the Coptic Church', OCP 3, (1937), 78-109; 505-549.
- Burmester, O.H.E., 'The Turûhât of the Saints (Tut, Babah, Hatur)', BSAC IV, (1938), 141-194; V, (1939), 85-157.
- Burmester, O.H.E., 'The Baptismal Rite of the Coptic Church', BSAC XI, (1945), 27-86.
- Burmester, O.H.E., 'A Coptic tradition concerning the holy Myron', Publications de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales de la Bibliothèque Patriarcale d'Alexandrie, (1954), 52-58.
- Burmester, O.H.E., 'The consecration of a new church and altar', ECQ X, (1954), 325-337.
- Burmester, O.H.E., A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo, Cairo, (1955).
- Burmester, O.H.E., 'The rite of consecration of the Patriarch of Alexandria', BSAC, Cairo, (1960).

- Burmester, O.H.E., 'The Coptic-Greek-Arabic Holy Week Lectionary of Scetis', BSAC 16 (1961-62), 83-137.
- Burmester, O.H.E., 'An Offertory-Consecratory Prayer in the Greek and Coptic Liturgy of Saint Mark', BSAC 17, (1963-1964), 23-33.
- Burmester, O.H.E., 'Three folios from the service for the consecration of the Chrism and the Kallielaion', SOCC 10, (1965), 240-248.
- Burmester, O.H.E., The Egyptian or Coptic Church. A Detailed Description of Her Liturgical Services and the Rites and Ceremonies Observed in the Administration of Her Sacraments, (Société Copte d'Archéologie), Cairo, (1967).
- Burmester, O.H.E., 'The Horologion of the Egyptian Church', Studia Orientalia Christiana, Aegyptiaca, Cairo, 1973.
- Burmester, O.H.E., Ordination Rites of the Coptic Church, Cairo, (1985).
- Burmester, O.H.E., 'Horologion copte et vêpres byzantines', Muséon 102/3-4, (1989), 237-254.
- Bute, J. de, The blessing of the waters on the Eve of Epiphany, London, (1901).
- Bute, J. de, The Coptic Morning Service of the Lord's Day, London, (1908, reprint N.Y., 1973).
- Butler, A.J., The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt, Oxford, 2 vol., (1884).
- Cabrol, F., and H. Leclerc, article 'Alexandrie', Dictionnnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie, 1 Paris (1924), 1098-1210.
- Chaîne, M., 'La consécration et l'épiclèse dans le missel copte', ROC 17, (1912), 225-243, (Latin trans.).
- Chaîne, M., 'Rituel de l'extrême onction', Bessarione (Rome) XXIX (1913) 420-451; XXX (1914), 12-41, 212-231.
- Chaîne, M., La Chronologie des temps Chrétiens, Paris, (1925).
- Chaîne, M., 'Sermon de Théodose, Patriarche d'Alexandrie, sur la dormition et l'assomption de la Vierge', ROC 9/3, (1933).
- Chauleur, S., 'L'autel copte', CC 9, (1955), 1-20.
- Clugnet, L., 'Calendrier de l'Eglise copte d'Alexandrie', ROC 2, (1897), 307-56.
- Coptic Orthodox Theological College, The Divine Liturgy of Saint Gregory the Theologian. According to the Rites of the Coptic Orthodox Church, Sidney, (1999).
- Coquin, C., 'Les Edifices Chrétiens du Vieux Caire', IFAO, Cairo, t. XI, (1974).
- Coquin, C., 'Les églises du Vieux Caire', LMC, 17, (1990), 13-18.
- Coquin, R.G., 'La consécration des Eglises dans le rite copte, ses relations avec les rites syrien et byzantin', L'Orient Syrien, 9/2-3, (1964), 149-187.
- Coquin, R.G., 'Vestiges de concélébration eucharistique chez les Melkites égyptiens, les Coptes et les Ethiopiens', Le Muséon 80, (1967), 37-46.
- Coquin, R.G., 'Vestiges de concélébration eucharistique chez les Melkites égyptiens, les Coptes et les Ethiopiens', Le Muséon 80, (1967), 37-46.
- Coquin, R., 'Les formes de participation du peuple dans le rite copte', POC t. 18/II-III, (1968), 122-139.
- Coquin, R.G., 'Les formes de participation du peuple dans le rit copte', POC 18, (1968), 122-139.
- Coquin, R.G., 'Livre de la consécration du sanctuaire de Benjamin', IFAO, Cairo (1975).
- Coquin, R.G., 'Synaxarion, Copto-Arabic', CE, (1991), 2171-2172.
- Costigan, G.H., A Brief Guide to the Coptic Museum and to the Principal Ancient Churches of Cairo, Cairo, (1938).
- Cramer, M., 'Monastische Liturgie in den koptischen Klöstern, JLW XIV, (1934), 230-242.
- Cramer, M., Die Totenklage bei den Kopten, SKAW 219, Vienna (1941).
- Cramer, M., 'Studien zu koptischen Paschabüchern', Les Cahiers Coptes 6 (1954), 13-16; 7-8 (1954), 25-31; 10 (1956), 10-12; 11, (1956), 13-17.
- Cramer, M., 'Studien zu koptischen Paschabüchern', OC 47, (1963), 118-128; 50 (1966), 72-130.
- Cramer, M., Koptische Hymnologie in deutscher Übersetzung, Wiesbaden, (1969).
- Cuming, G.J., 'The Liturgy of Saint Mark', OCA 234, Rome, (1990).
- Dalmais, I.H., 'La glorification de la Sainte Croix dans l'Eglise copte', La Maison Dieu 75, (1963), 109-118.
- Dalmais, I.H., La Liturgie Alexandrine et ses Relations avec les autres Liturgies, Conférences de Saint Serge in Paris, Rome, (1975).
- De Lacy O' Leary, D.D., The Daily Office and Theotokia of the Coptic Church, London, (1911).
- De Lacy O' Leary, D.D., The Difnar (Antiphonarium) of the Coptic Church, (3 vols.), London, (1926-1930).
- De Lacy O' Leary, D.D., 'A Greek hymn in a Coptic manuscript', Orientalia (Rome), (1934), 201-204.
- De Lacy O' Leary, D.D., The Saints of Egypt in the Coptic Calendar, (1937, repr. Amsterdam 1974).
- Delahaye. H., Les Légendes grecques des saints militaires, Paris, (1909).
- Doresse, J., and E. Lanne, 'Un témoin archaïque de la liturgie copte de St Basile', Muséon 47, (1969).

- Doss, R., 'The Prayer of the Consecration of the Nile and the Consecration of the Water in the Coptic Liturgy', ICCopt 8 Paris (2004).
- Engberding, H., 'Der Nil in der liturgischen Frömmigkeit der christilichen Ostens', OC 4/1, (1952), 56-88.
- Engberding, H., 'Neues Licht über die Geschichte des Textes des ägyptischen Markusliturgie' Or Ch, 40, (1956), 40-68.
- Engberding, H., 'Das anaphorische Fürbittgenet der Basiliusliturgie', OC 46, (1962), 33-60; 47, (1963), 16-52.
- Engberding, H., 'Die koptische Liturgie', in Koptische Kunst. Christentum am Nil, (Exhibition in Essen, Germany in 1963), 95-103.
- Engberding, H., 'Das anaphorische Fürbittgenet der grieschischen Markusliturgie', OCP 30, (1964), 398-446.
- Ermoni, V., 'L'ordinal copte', ROC 3 (1898), 31-38, 191-199, 282-291, 425-434; 4 (1899), 104-115, 416-427, 591-604; 5 (1900), 247-253.
- Ermoni, V., 'Rituel copte du baptême et du mariage', ROC 5 (1900), 445-460; 6 (1901), 453-469; 7 (1902), 303-318; 9 (1904), 526-536.
- Esbroeck, M. van, 'La dormition chez les Coptes', in ICCoptS 4, Louvain-la-Neuve 1988), 2, 436-445.
- Evetts, B.T.A., The Rites of the Coptic Church, London, (1888).
- Evetts, B.T.A., 'Le rite copte de la prise d'habit et de la profession monacale', ROC 11, (1906), 60-73, 130-148.
- Fenoyl, M., 'Les sacrements de l'initiation chrétienne dans l'Eglise copte', POC VII/I, (1957), 7-25; VIII/II ((1958), 117-129.
- Fenoyl, M., 'La Liturgie eucharistique dans le rite copte', POC VII/III, (1957), 193-206; VIII/III (1958), 117-129.
- Fenwick, J.R.K., 'The Anaphoras of St. Basil and St. James. An Investigation into their Common Origin, (1992), OCA, 240.
- Gabra, G., 'Untersuchung zum Difnar der Koptischen Kirche', BSAC 37, (1998), 49-68.
- Garrido, J., 'La Messe copte', CC 13-14, (1957).
- Giamberardini, G., La consecrazione eucaristica nella chiesa copta, Cairo, (1957).
- Giamberardini, G., 'Il Natale nella Chiesa copta', SOCC 3, (1958), 5-82.
- Godlewski, W., 'Baptistery', CE, (1991), 197-200.
- Graf, G., 'Ein Alter kelchthron in der Kirche Abu Sefen', BSAC, 4, (1938), 29-36.
- Graf, G., 'Der Kirchliche Gesang nach Abu Ishaq al-Mu'taman ibn al-Assal', BSCA 13, (1948-49), 161-178.
- Gregorius (Bishop), 'Baptism and Chrismation according to the Rite of the Coptic Orthodox Church', BSAC 21, (1975), 19-32.
- Griveau, R., 'Martyrologes et Ménologes Orientaux, Les Fêtes des Coptes' par Al-Maqrizi, P.O. X/4, no 49, (1914).
- Grossman, P., Christliche Architektur in Ägypten, Leiden, (2002).
- Grossman, P., 'On the Architecture at Wadi al-Natrun', Coptica 3, (2004), 17-42.
- Hammerschmidt, E., Die Koptische Gregoriosanaphora, Berlin, (1957).
- Hammerschmidt, E., 'Koptisch-bohairische Texte zur ägyptischen Gregoriosanaphora', OC 44, (1960), 88-111.
- Hammerschmidt, E., 'Some Remarks on the History of, and Present State of Investigation into the Coptic Liturgy', BSAC 19, (1967-68), 89-113.
- Hanna, W., Holy Pascha Week Guide: Brief Explanation and English Listing of Readings, St Louis, (2003).
- Hanna, W., Common Paschal Prayers: According to the Rites and Tradition of the Coptic Orthodox Church, St. Louis, (2003).
- Hanssens, J.M., 'Un traité copte du 14e siècle sur l'Eucharistie', OCP 38 (1972), 467-472.
- Heffening, W., 'Zwei altertümliche Litanien aus dem Paschabuch der koptischen Kirche', OC 36 (1941), 74-100.
- Heimann, D., (translator), 'Coptic Rite', in The Eucharistic Liturgies of the Eastern Churches, Collegeville, (1963), 14-37.
- Heiming, O., 'Genesis und Proverbienlesung der koptischen Quadragesima und Karwoche', JLW 10, (1930), 174-180.
- Henein, N., Mari Girgis, village de Haute Egypte, IFAO, Cairo, (1988, reprint 2001), chap. 4 'Les âges de la vie (naissance, mariage, mort); chap. 5 'Religion et surnaturel', (fêtes, miracles).
- Horner, G.W., 'The Service for the Consecration of a Church and Altar and Tank, According to the Ritual of the Coptic-Jacobite Church', Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, 21, (1889), 86-107.
- Horner, G.W., The Service for Consecration of a Church and Altar According to the Coptic Rite, London, (1902).
- Hunt, L.A., 'The al-Mu'allaqa Doors Reconstructed. An Early Fourteenth-Cent. Sanctuary Screen from Old Cairo', Gesta 28 (1989), 61-7.
- Johnson, M., Liturgy in Early Christian Egypt, Cambridge, (1995).
- Karpozilos, D., 'A Coptic Trisagion from Egypt', OCP 39, (1973), 454-460.
- Kopp, C., 'Glaube und Sakramente der koptischen Kirche', Orientalia Christiana 25/1, no 75, (1932).
- Kuhn, M., 'Traditionelle koptische Melodien', ICCopt 8 Paris (2004).
- Lanne, E., 'Les textes de la liturgie eucharistique en dialecte sahidique', Le Muséon 68, (1955), 5-16.
- Lanne, E., 'Le Grand Euchologe du Monastère Blanc', PO 28/2, (1958).

- Lanne, E., 'Les ordinations dans le rite copte: leurs relations avec les Constitutions Apostoliques et la tradition d'Hyppolyte', L'Orient Syrien, V/1 (1960), 81-106.
- Lanne, E., 'Textes et rites de la liturgie pascale dans l'ancienne Eglise copte', L'Orient Syrien, vol.VI, 2/3 trim. (1961), 279-300.
- Lanne, E., 'Dans la tradition alexandrine l'ordination du Patriarche', Conférences Saint Serge, Paris (1995), 139-155.
- Lanne, E., 'L'intercession pour les biens de la terre dans la liturgie alexandrine', in Liturgie et cosmos, (A. Triacca-A. Pistoia, eds.), Bibl. Eph. Lit. Subs. 98, Rome, (1998), 93-110. (='Le rite de la sanctification des eaux du Nil').
- Lantschoot (van), A., 'Le MS. Vatican Copte 44 et le Livre du Chrême', Le Muséon 45, (1932), 181-234. (=preparation of myron)
- Lantschoot (van), A., 'L'assomption de la sainte Vierge chez les Coptes', Gr 27, (1946), 493-526.
- Lauzière, M.E, 'Les théotokies coptes, Les Echos d'Orient (Paris), XXXIX, (1940-42), 312-327.
- Leclerc, H., 'Egypte', in F. Cabrol and H. Leclerc, Dictionnnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie, 4/2, Paris (1921), 2401-2571.
- LMC 13, Dossier 'Eau et baptême', (1988).
- Liguer, L., 'Liturgies coptes', in 'Pénitence et Eucharistie en Orient', OCP 29/1, (1963), 32-48.
- Loon, G.J.M. van, 'The symbolic meaning of the Haykal', in ICCoptS 5, (Washington 1993), 2/2, 497-508.
- Macaire, G., La messe copte', ROC 4, (1899), 14 -43.
- Mac Coull, L.S.B., and P. Jacobson, 'Reconstructing the Sahidic Coptic Monastic Vespers', in Euloghma. Studies in Honour of Robert Taft, Rome, (1993), 285-294=Studia Anselmiana, Analecta Liturgica 17.
- Macomber, W.F., 'The Anaphora of Saint Mark according to the Kacmarcik Codex', OCP XLV/I, (1979), 75-98.
- Malak, Hanna, 'Les livres liturgiques de l'Eglise copte', in Studi e Testi 233, Vatican (1964), 1-35.
- Malak, Hanna, 'Le rôle de la divine Liturgie eucharistique dans la vie de l'Eglise copte aujourd'hui', POC XXIII/III-IV, (1973), 266-283.
- Malan, S.C., The Divine Liturgy of Saint Mark the Evangelist. Translated from an old Coptic MS, London, (1872).
- Malan, S.C., The Holy Gospels and Versicles for every Sunday and other Feast Day in the Year, London, (1874).
- Mallon, A., 'Les Théotokies ou offices de la sainte Vierge dans le rite copte', ROC 9, (1904), 17-31. (cf psalies)
- Mallon, A., 'Documents de source copte sur la Sainte Vierge', ROC 10, (1905), 182-196, 251-257.
- Maqrizi, 'Les fêtes des Coptes', P.O. t. 10/4, no 49 (1914, reprint 1988), 315-343.
- Martin, A., 'Topographie et liturgie: le problème des paroisses d'Alexandrie', in Actes du XIe Congrès International d'Archéologie Chrétienne, Rome, (1989), 1133-1144.
- Masri, Al, H., 'The rite of the filling of the calice', BSAC VI, (1940), 77-90.
- Mazza, E., 'La structure des anaphores alexandrine et antiochienne', Irénikon 67 (1994), 5-40.
- Medows Rodwell, J., The Liturgies of S. Basil, S. Gregory and S. Cyril from a Coptic Manuscript of the Thirteenth Century, London, (1870).
- Ménard, R., 'La musique copte, problème insoluble', CC 1, (1952), 35-40.
- Ménard, R., 'Note sur les musiques arabe et copte', CC 2, (1952), 48-54.
- Ménard, R., 'Notation et transcription de la musique copte', CC 3, (1953), 34-44.
- Ménard, R., 'Tradition copte', in Encyclopédie des Musiques Sacrées, 2, (Paris), 1969, 229-233.
- Meinardus, O., 'The Ceremony of the Holy Fire in the Middle Ages and Today', BSAC 16, (1961-62), 243-252.
- Meinardus, O., 'Drei Aspekten der Erneuerung in der koptischen Kirche', OC 76, (1992), 101-122.
- Meinardus, O., 'Die Herstellung und Weihe des heiligen Myron in der koptischen Kirche', OC 76, (1992), 112-122.
- Meinardus, O., 'Das Eucharistische Brot (Qurban) bei den Kopten', KMT, 11/4, (2002), 36-39.
- Meinardus, O., 'Koptische Wasserriten', KMT 12/4, (2003), 47-50.
- Mettaous (Bishop), The Spirituality of the Rites of the Holy Liturgy in the Coptic Orthodox Church, Alexandria, (no date).
- Moftah, R., M. Robertson, M. Roy, 'Music, Coptic', The Coptic Encyclopedia, (1991), 1715-44, see bibliography 1744-47.
- Moftah, R., The Coptic Orthodox Liturgy of St. Basil, With Complete Musical Transcription, Cairo, (1998).
- Moussa al-Amba Bishoi (Father) and N. Wasfy, Prières de la Semaine Sainte de Pâques, Paris, (2002), (5 booklets).
- Muyser, J., 'Des vases eucharistiques en verre', BAAAC, 3, (1937), 9-28.
- Muyser, J., 'Le psali copte pour la première heure du samedi de la joie', Muséon 65, (1952), 175-184.
- Muyser, J., 'Le culte des trois jeunes gens chez les Coptes', CC 6, (1954),17-31.
- Nau, F., 'Le calendrier d'Aboul-Barakat', ROC 13, (1908), 113-133.
- Nau, F., 'Les ménologes des évangéliaires coptes arabes édités et traduits', PO 10, (1915), 165-244.

- Nessim, Y., 'De nouveau, la christianisation de dates de fêtes de l'ancienne religion égyptienne', BSCA 31, (1992), 109-113. (see other articles by Yohanna Nessim through google)
- Piankoff, A., 'Les deux encensoirs coptes du Musée du Louvre', BSAC 7, (1941), 1-7.
- Quecke, H., 'Neue Griechische Parallelen zum Koptischen Horologion', Le Muséon 77/3-4, (1964), 285-294.
- Quecke, H., 'Eine griechische Strophe in koptischer Überlieferung', OCP 32/1, (1966), 265-270.
- Quecke, H., Untersuchungen zum koptischen Stundengebet, Louvain, (1970).
- Raes, A., 'Le mariage en rite copte', in Le Mariage dans les Eglises d'Orient, (1958), 21-46.
- Rapp, E.L., 'Zwei koptische Hymnen für das Epiphanienfest', JSOR XI, (1927), 146-151.
- Renaudin, P., 'La messe copte: Liturgie copte alexandrine dite de saint Basile le Grand', Revue de l'Orient Chrétien, 4, (1899), 14-43.
- Robertson, M., 'The Reliability of the Oral tradition in Preserving Coptic Music', BSAC 26, (1984), 83-94.
- Robertson Wilson, M., 'Art. Kopten, koptische Musik', in Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche, 6, (1997), 362.
- Roy, M. (ed.), The Coptic Orthodox Liturgy of St. Basil (with Complete Musical Transcription), Cairo, (1998).
- Salaville, S., 'Les formules diaconales dans la liturgie du rite égyptien (copte et éthiopien)', in Le Rôle du Diacre dans la Liturgie Orientale, Paris, (1962).
- Samir, K., 'La version arabe de la Liturgie alexandrine de saint Grégoire (codex Kacmarcik)', OCP 45, (1979), 308-358.
- Samir, K., 'L'année liturgique copte', POC 39, (1989), 26-34.
- Samir, K., 'L'Encyclopédie liturgique d'Ibn Kabar (+ 1324) et son apologie d'usages coptes', Crossroads of Cultures, (H.J. Feulner, Velkovska and Taft, eds.),=Orientalia Christiana Analecta 260, Rome, (2000), 610-655.
- Samir, K., 'L'Esprit Saint dans la liturgie copte', POC 53, (2003), 5-33.
- Sauget, J.M., Bibliographie des liturgies orientales, (1900-1960), Rome, (1962).
- Sellew, P., 'A Blesssing for Reading the Apocalypse in the Paschal Liturgy', ICCopt 7 Leiden (2000), published in 2004, 629-637.
- Sidarius, A., 'La Semaine Sainte à Dair as-Suryan', BSCA 20, (1969-70), 5-32.
- Taft, R., 'Praise in the Desert. The Coptic Monastic Office Yesterday and Today', Worship 56, (1982), 513-36.
- Taft, R., The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West, Collegeville, (1986).
- Takla, H., 'Coptic Liturgy, Past, Present and Future', Bulletin of Saint Shenouda the Archimandrite, 4 (1997/98), 43-62.
- Takla, H., 'Service Books Used During the Pascha Week in the Coptic Orthodox Church', St. Shenouda Coptic Newsletter 5/3, (1999), 11-13.
- Thomas (Bishop), 'The Coptic Orthodox Church and Folklore Traditions', ICCopt 7 Leiden (2000), published in 2004, 983-988.
- Till, W., and P. Sanz, Eine griechisch-koptische Odenhandschrift, Rome (1939).
- Timbie, J., 'A liturgical procession in the desert of Apa Shenoute', Pilgrimage and holy space in late antique Egypt (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World, 134), (D. Frankfurter ed.), Leiden, (1998), 415-441.
- Tisserant, E., Martyrologes et Ménologes Orientaux. Le Calendrier d'Abou'l-Barakat', PO 48, (1913).
- Turaev, B., Der Ostergottesdienst der koptischen Kirche, St Petersburg (1897).
- Van Moorsel, P., 'La signification des icônes dans le sanctuaire des églises coptes', in Nicée II 787-1987, (F. Boesflug, N. Lossky, eds.), Paris, (1987).
- Viaud, G., 'Prière de la Fraction de notre Père Abraham', SOCC 9, (1964), 363-376.
- Viaud, G., 'Note sur les Processions de la Croix dans l'Eglise Copte', OS 11/2, (1966), 231-235.
- Viaud, G., 'Le Psaume 151 dans la liturgie copte', BIFAO 67, (1969), 1-8.
- Viaud, G., 'La Processions des deux Fêtes de la Croix et du Dimanche des Rameaux dans l'Eglise Copte', BSAC 19, (1976-68), 211-226.
- Viaud, G., Les Coptes d'Egypte. La Liturgie des Coptes d'Egypte, Sisteron, (1978).
- Villecourt, L., 'Les observances liturgiques et la discipline du jeûne dans l'Eglise copte', Muséon 36, (1923), 249-292; 37, (1924), 201-280; 38, (1925), 261-320.
- Villecourt, L., 'La Lettre de Macaire, évêque de Memphis, sur la liturgie antique du Chrême et du Baptême à Alexandrie', Muséon 36, (1923), 33-46.
- Villecourt, L., 'Le livre du Chrême', Muséon 41, (1928), 49-80.
- Woolley, R.M., Coptic Offices, London (1930).
- Youssef, Y., 'Romanus Melodus in the Coptic Church', Bulletin of Saint Shenouda the Archimandrite, 5 (1998/9), 41-44.
- Youssef, Y., 'Liturgical Connections between Copts (anti-Chalcedonian) and Greeks (Chalcedonian) after the Council of Chalcedon, Ephemerides Liturgicae 114, (2000), 394-400.

- Youssef, Y., 'Consecration of the Myron at Saint Macarius Monastery', Coptica 2, (2003), 106-121.
- Zanetti, U., 'Homélies copto-arabes pour la Semaine Sainte', Augustinianum 23, (1983), 517-524.
- Zanetti, U., 'Esquisse d'une typologie des Euchologes coptes bohaïriques', Le Muséon 100, (1987), 407-418.
- Zanetti, U., Les lectionnaires coptes annuels: Basse-Égypte, (=Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain, 33), Louvain-la-Neuve, (1985).
- Zanetti, U., 'Horologion copte et vêpres byzantines', Muséon, 102/3-4, (1989), 237-254.
- Zanetti, U., 'La distribution des psaumes dans l'horologion copte', OCP, 56 (1990), 323-369.
- Zanetti, U., 'Abu-l-Barakat et les lectionnaires de Haute Egypte, in ICCoptS 4, (Louvain-la-Neuve 1988), (1992), 2, 450-462.
- Zanetti, U., 'Fêtes des anges dans les calendriers et synaxaires orientaux', in Culto e insediamenti Micaelici nell'Italia meridionale fra tarda antichità e medioevo, (C. Carletti and G. Ortranto, eds.), Bari, (1994), 323-349.
- Zanetti, U., 'Bohairic Liturgical Manuscripts, OCP 61, (1995), 65-94.
- Zanetti, U., 'Un index liturgique du Monastère Blanc', in Christianismes d'Egypte. Hommage à R.G. Coquin, Paris-Louvain, Peeters, (1995), 55-75.
- Zanetti, U., 'Les lectionnaires coptes. Haute Egypte', in La lecture liturgique des Epîtres catholiques dans l'Eglise ancienne, (C.B. Amphoux and J.P. Bouhot, eds.), Lausanne, (1996), 141-196 (= Histoire du texte biblique, 1).
- Zanetti, U., 'Abu l-Hayr ibn al-Tayyib: Sur les icônes et la croix', in Paroles de l'Orient 28, (2003), 667-701.
- Zanetti, U., 'Liturgy at Wadi Natrun', Coptica 2, (2003), 122-141.
- Zentgraf, K., 'Eucharistische Texfragmente einer koptisch-saidischen Handschrift', Or Ch 41, (1957), 67-75; 42 (1958), 44-54; 43, (1959), 76-102.

Spirituality

- Amélineau, E.C., Les Actes des martyrs de l'Eglise copte, Paris, (1890).
- Basset, R.M.J., Le Synaxaire arabe jacobite, PO 1/3, (1907), 215-379; 3, (1909), 243-545; 11/5, (1915), 505-859; 16/2, (1922), 185-424; 17/3, (1923), 525-782; 20, (1929), 735-789.
- Cannuyer, C., Several articles on the Virgin's apparitions in Egypt, in Le Dictionnaire des Apparitions mariales, (ed. P. Sbalchiero), (to be published).
- Bassili, M. and A., The Life of the Great Saint Pope Kirellous VI, London, (1986).
- Behlmer, H., 'Women and the Holy in Coptic Hagiography', ICCopt 8 Paris (2004).
- Biegman, N.H., Egypt: Moulids, Saints, Sufis, London (1990).
- Boutros, R., 'Dayr Gabal al-tayr: monastère ou église d'un village ?', ICCopt 7 (2004), 1053-1068.
- Boutros, R., 'Questions de méthode pour l'étude des pèlerinages et lieux saints en Egypte', ICCopt 8, (Paris 2004).
- Brune, F., La Vierge de l'Egypte. L'incroyable apparition de Marie à des millions d'Egyptiens, Paris, (2004).
- Camplani, A., 'Sull'origine della Quaresima in Egitto', in ICCoptS 5, II/1, Washington, (1993), 105-121.
- Coptic Icons LMC nos 18 et 19, 1990-91.
- Cerulli, E., Atti di Giulio di Aqfahs, CSCO 191/38, (1959).
- Chaillot, C., 'Un saint prêtre copte du 20e siècle', LMC 20, (1992), 109-114.
- Chaillot, C., Rôle des images et vénération des icônes dans les Eglises Orthodoxes Orientales syrienne, arménienne, copte et éthiopienne, Geneva, (1993).
- Cheneau, P., Les Saints d'Egypte, Jérusalem, (1923), 2 vols.
- Connaissance des Pères de l'Eglise 92, (2003), (on Saint Maurice).
- Crum, W.E., 'Barsauma the Naked', Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, 29, (1907), 135-149, 187-206.
- Crum, W.E., 'Coluthus the Martyr and his name', BZ 30, (1929-1930), 323-327.
- Detlef, C. and G. Müller, Die Engellehre der Koptischen Kirche. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der christlichen Frömmigkeit in Ägypten, Wiesbaden, (1959).
- De Lacy O'Leary, E., The Saints of Egypt in the Coptic Calendar, London, (1937, reprint Amsterdam, 1974).
- De Lacy O'Leary (ed.), The Arabic Life of S. Pisentius, PO 22/3, (1977).
- Delehaye, H., 'L'invention des reliques de Saint Ménas à Constantinople', AB, 29, (1910), 117- 150.
- Delehaye, H., 'Les martyrs d'Egypte', AB 40, (1922), 5-154, 299-364.
- Delehaye, H., Les martyrs d'Egypte, Brussels, (1923).
- Demetrius (Bishop), The Visit of the Holy Family in Mallawi, Mallawi, (1999).
- Devos, P., 'Un récit des Miracles de S. Ménas', AB 77, (1959), 451-463; 78, (1960), 154-160.
- Dib, P., 'Jules d'Aqfahs', ROC 15, (1910), 301-336.

- Drescher, J., Apa Mena. A selection of Coptic Texts relating to St. Menas, Cairo, (1946).
- Doorn (van)-Harder, N., 'The Importance of Greeting the Saints', in Coptic Art and Culture, (Hondelink, H., ed.), Cairo, (1990), 101-119.
- Doorn van-Harder, N., 'Kyrillos VI: Planner, Patriarch and Saint', in Between Desert and City: The Coptic Orthodox Church Today, (eds. Van Doorm, N. and K. Vogt), Oslo, (1997), 231-243.
- Doorn van-Harder, N., 'Following the Holy Call: Women in the Coptic Church, Parole de l'Orient, 25, (2000), 733-750.
- El-Leithy, T., 'Converts, Apostates and Martyrs: Coptic Cairo in the Late Fourteenth Century', ICCopt 8 Paris (2004).
- El Keraza, 'Nos Martyrs de el Kocheh', Paris, 21.1.2000.
- Fenoyl (de), M., Le Sanctoral Copte, Beyrouth, (1960).
- Festugière, A., Sainte Thècle, saints Côme et Damien, saints Cyr et Jean, saint George, Paris, (1971).
- Forget. J., 'Synaxarium Alexandrinum', CSCO, 3-5, 11-13, (1954-1963).
- Frankfurter, D., 'Approaches to Coptic Pilgrimage', in Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt, Leiden, (1998).
- Gabra, G., (ed.), with W. Lyster, C. Hulsman, S. Davis, Be Thou There. The Holy Family's Journey in Egypt, Cairo/New York, (2002).
- Giamberardini, G., 'La Croce e il crocifisso presso i Copti', SOCC , 7, (1962), 45-100.
- Giamberardini, G., 'La preghiera nella Chiesa copta', SOCC 8, (1963), 1-78.
- Giamberardini, G., 'La sorte dei defunti nella tradizione copta', SOCC 9, (1964), 3-202; 10 (1965), 5-208.
- Giamberardini, G., 'Il culto mariano in Egitto nei primi secoli', SOCC 12, (1967), 1-307.
- Grossman, P., 'The Pilgrimage Center of Abû Mîna', Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt, (D. Frankfurter, ed.), Leiden, (1998), 281-302.
- Guirgis, S.F., on Coptic saints in Switzerland, CE, 1572, 1110, 1082, 2292, 2302, 2299, 2231.
- Hyvernat, H., Les Actes des Martyrs d'Egypte, Paris, (1886-1887).
- Hussselman, E., 'The Martyrdom of Cyriacus and Julitta in Coptic', Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt, Boston, 4, (1965), 79-86.
- Kabes, A., 'La spiritualité du mariage dans l'Eglise copte et la nouvelle génération', SOCC 20, (1987), 7-117.
- Kamil, M., 'Koptische Frömmigkeit', in Koptische Kunst. Christentum am Nil, Essen, (1963), 104-108.
- Kamil, M., 'Aspects de l'Egypte copte', Berliner Byzantinische Arbeiten, 31, (1965), 1-48.
- Kamil, M., 'La vie sociale chez les Coptes', Berliner Byzantinische Arbeiten 45, (1974), 29-41.
- Khater, A., 'Les Miracles de Saints Serge et Bacchus', BSAC 15 (1958-60), 101-123.
- Khater, A., 'La translation des reliques de Saint Ménas à son église au Caire', BSAC 16, (1961-2), 161-181.
- Khater, A., 'Nouveaux Fragments du Synaxaire arabe', SOCC 10, (1965), 249-406.
- Hyvernat, H., Les Actes des Martyrs de l'Egypte, Paris, (1886, reprint Olms 1977).
- Leclercq, H., 'Marc (saint)', DACL, (1932), 1738-1740.
- Mac Coull, L.S., 'Notes on some Coptic Hagiographic Texts', POC (1992), 42/1-2, 11-18.
- Malan, The Calendar of the Coptic Church, London, (1873).
- Malaty, T., Pastoral Work in the Life of Father Pishoy (Kamel), California, (1979).
- Malaty, T., 'A Spiritual Leader: Fr. Bishoy Kamel Ishak', Coptic Church Review, vol. 2/1, (1981), 20-23.
- Malaty, T., The Church House of God, Alexandria, (1982).
- Malaty, T., The Coptic Orthodox Church as an Ascetic Church, Alexandria, (1986).
- Malaty, T., Dictionary of Church Terms, Alexandria, (1992).
- Malaty, T., Introduction to the Coptic Orthodox Church, Alexandria, (1993).
- Malaty, T., St Mary in the Orthodox Concept, Alexandria, (undated).
- Malaty, T., Christ in the Eucharist, Alexandria, (3rd ed. 2001).
- Mallon, A., 'Documents de source copte sur la sainte Vierge', ROC 10, (1905), 182-192.
- Maraval, P., Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient, Paris, (1985) (on pilgrimage of St Menas 81-84, 319-322).
- Maraval, P., 'Le pèlerinage comme instrument de l'emprise monastique aux IVe-VIIIe siècles dans l'Orient chrétien, in Occident et Orient IX-XVe siècles. Histoire et Archéologie, Amiens, (1998), 59-67.
- Martin, M., 'Pilgrims and Travelers in Christian Egypt', CE, 1975-7.
- Martin, M., 'Sur quelques comportements symboliques spécifiques de la communauté copte', in Modernisation et Nouvelles Formes de Mobilisation Sociale: Egypte-Brésil (1970-1989), I, CEDEJ, (1991), 134-38.
- Masri, El, I., Magnetic Radiation: the Story of Father Pishoy Kamel, Alexandria, (1989).
- Mayeur-Jaouen, C., 'The Coptic Mouleds: Evolution of the Traditional Pilgrimages', in Between Desert and City: The Coptic Orthodox Church Today, (eds. Van Doorm, N. and K. Vogt), Oslo, (1997), 212-229.

- Mayeur-Jaouen, C., 'Saints coptes et saints musulmans dans l'Egypte du XXe siècle', Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, 215, (1998), 139-186.
- Mayeur-Jaouen, C., 'Dayr Dronka: la renaissance d'un pèlerinage copte', in Chrétiens du monde arabe, (ed. B. Heyberger), Paris, (2003), 179-183.
- Mayeur-Jaouen, C., Pèlerinages d'Egypte, mouleds coptes et mouleds musulmans, XV-XXe siècles, Paris, (2004).
- Meinardus, O., The Copts in Jerusalem, (1960).
- Meinardus, O., 'The Itinerary of the Holy Family in Egypt', SOCC 7, (1962), 1-44.
- Meinardus, O., The Holy Family in Egypt, Cairo, (1963).
- Meinardus, O., 'A Comparative Study of the Synaxarium of the Coptic Church', BSAC 17, (1963-64), 111-156.
- Meinardus, O., 'Mystical Phenomena Among the Copts', OkSt, 15/2-3, (1966), 143-53, and OkSt, 15/4, (1966), 289-307.
- Meinardus, O., 'An Inventory of the Relics of saints in the Coptic Churches of Egypt', Ok St 17, 2/3, (1968), 134-73.
- Meinardus, O., 'The Twenty-four Elders of the Apocalypse in the Iconography of the Coptic Church', SOCC, 13, (1968-1969),141-157.
- Meinardus,O., 'A Critical Study on the Cult of Sitt Dimiana and her Forty Virgins', OrSu 18, (1969), 45-68.
- Meinardus, O., 'An Examination of the Traditions pertaining to the Relics of St. Mark', OCP 36, (1970), 348-376.
- Meinardus, O., 'A Study of the Relics of Saints of the Greek Orthodox Church', OrCh, 54, (1970), 130-278.
- Meinardus, O., 'A Coptic anargyros: St. Colluthus', SOCC 14, (1970-1971), 365-375.
- Meinardus, O., 'St Mercurius', SOCC 15, (1972-1973), 107-120.
- Meinardus, O., 'St Barbara', SOCC 15, (1972-1973), 121-132.
- Meinardus, O., 'Coptic Pilgrimage Testimonies', OrSu 23-24, (1974-5), 45-68.
- Meinardus, O., 'An Examination of the Traditions of the Theban Legion', BSAC 23, (1976-8), 5-32.
- Meinardus, O., Die Wüstenväter des 20. Jahrhunderts, Würzburg, (1983).
- Meinardus, O., 'Bir al-'Ain, eine volkstümliche Kultstätte bei Akhmim', Okst 34/3, (1985), 183-86.
- Meinardus, O., 'A note on the Apparitions of the Holy Virgin in the Spring 1986 in Cairo', OkSt 35, (1986), 337-339.
- Meinardus, O., 'Zur Rückkehr einer 'Thebäerin' nach Ägypten', Internationale Kirchliche Zeitung, NF 3/379, (1987), 163-171.
- Meinardus, O., 'The Eucharist in the Historical Experience of the Copts', COP 8, (1988), 53-73.
- Meinardus, O., 'Damietta and the Martyrdom of Anba Sidhom Bishai', COP 11, (1990), 65-71.
- Meinardus, O., 'The Translation of the Relics of St. Maurice from Tholey to Cairo ', Coptologia 11, (1990), 44-55.
- Meinardus, O., 'The Translation of the Relics of Sts. Cassius and Florentius from Bonn to Cairo', CCR 13/2, (1992), 49-53.
- Meinardus, O., 'Recent Development in Coptic Hagioloy', COP 13, (1993), 101-118.
- Meinardus, O., 'Vorläufige Bericht über die Bestimmung und Datierung der koptischen Mumien von Naqlûn', OrCh 80, (1996), 98-107.
- Meinardus, O., 'Thebäer Überlieferungen und die Kopten', KMT 5/1, (1996), 38-40.
- Meinardus, O., 'The Rediscovery of Four Coptic Saints: Saints Bane, Sama'an, Bashu'na and Julius', CCR 19, (1998), 83-90.
- Meinardus, O., 'Märtyren und Thaumaturgen', DCO 53/2, (1998), 109-118.
- Meinardus, O., 'Die 'silberlosen' Ärzte der Kopten', KMT 8/2, (1999), 48-50.
- Meinardus, O., Two Thousands Years of Coptic Christianity, Cairo, (1999); with 'The Calendar of the Coptic Church', 285-309 (cf BSAC 17, (1963-1964), 111 –156).
- Meinardus, O., 'Koptische Frauen für die Ewigkeit geweiht', KMT 8/4, (1999), 34-38.
- Meinardus, O., 'Die Marienerscheinungen in Ägypten einst und heute', KMT 8/4, (1999), 39-43.
- Meinardus, O., 'Die Einsiedler Ägyptens einst und heute', KMT 9/1, (2000), 47-51.
- Meinardus, O., 'Die Kettenheilungen des hl. Goerg', KMT 9/4, (2000), 47-49.
- Meinardus, O., 'Uber zeitgenössische koptische Glaubenzeugnisse, KMT 10/1, (2001), 53-55.
- Meinardus, O., 'Neue Gesichter am koptischen Himmelszelt', KMT 10/1, (2001), 56-59; 13/1, (2004), 48-52.
- Meinardus, O., Coptic Saints and Pilgrimages, Cairo, (2002).
- Meinardus, O., 'Zum Geheimnis der Märtyrer von Achmim', KMT 11/2, (2002), 47-50.
- Meinardus, O., 'Uber Feste und Fasten bei den Kopten', Kemet 3 (2003), 2-6.
- Meinardus, O., 'Zu den 'übernatürlichen' Begleiterscheinungen der zeitgengenössischen koptischen Erneuerung', in Koexistenz und Konfrontation (ed. M Tamcke), Hamburg, (2003), 97-107.
- Meinardus, O., 'About the New Saints in the Coptic Church', OC 88, (2004), 173-201.

- Meinardus, O., 'Zeitgenössische koptische Volksfrömmigkeit nach einer hagiologischen Collage', Der Christliche Osten, 59/3-4. (2004).
- Mulder, N., 'The Early Christian Pilgrimage: The Case of Abu Mena', Essays on Coptic Art and Culture, 1, (1994), Leiden University, 18-35.
- Müller, C.D. , 'Was können wir aus der koptischen Literatur über Theologie und Frömmigkeit der Ägyptischen Kirche lernen ?', Or Ch 48, (1964), 191-215.
- Muyser, J., 'Survivance de Tatouage Chrétien en Egypte', CC 2, (1952), 11-23.
- Saint Mercurius Convent for Nuns, Old Cairo, God loves me. The Miracles of the Great Martyr Philopater Mercurius 'Abu Seifein', Cairo, (1992).
- Saint Mercurius Convent for Nuns, Old Cairo, The Life of the Great Martyr St. Philopater Mercurius. The bearer of two swords. Abi Seifein, Cairo, (1997).
- The Community of Coptic Orthodox Nuns of Saint George, Zuweila Alley, The Biographies of the Prince of Martyrs, Saint George the Roman; Saint George the Alexandrian; Saint George Al-Mozahem, Cairo, (2002).
- The Miracles of Pope Kyrillos VI, published by the Sons of Kyrillos VI, Cairo, (1997), (several pamphlets).
- The Life of the Saint Pope Kyrillos the Sixth, published by the Sons of Kyrillos VI, Cairo, (second edition 2002).
- Naguib, S.A., 'The Martyr as Witness: Coptic and Copto-Arabic Hagiographies as Mediators of Religious Memories', Numen 41/3 (1994), 223-254.
- Nessim Henry Henein, Mari Girgis, Village de Haute Egypte, IFAO, Cairo, (1988).
- Papaconstantinou, A., Le Culte des saints en Egypte des Byzantins aux Abbassides. L'apport des inscriptions et des papyrus grecs et coptes, Paris, (2001).
- Reinle, A., Die heilige Verena von Zurzach, Basel, (1948).
- Rémondon, R., 'Egypte chrétienne', Dictionnaire de Spiritualité IV, (1959), 532-548.
- Till, W., 'Koptische Heiligen und Märtyrerlegenden', OCA 102, (1935), 1-209; 108 (1936), 5-188.
- Till, W., Koptische Heiligen und Märtyrerlegenden, 2 vols, Rome (1935-1936).
- Tisserant, E., 'Le calendrier d'Abou'l-Barakat', (Synaxarion), PO 10/3, (1915), 247-286.
- Viaud, G., Les pèlerinages coptes en Egypte, Cairo, IFAO, (1979).
- Viaud, G., 'Pilgrimage', CE, (1991), 1969-71.
- Voile, B., 'Barsum le Nu, un saint copte au Caire à l'époque mamelouke', D. Aigle (ed.), Saints Orientaux, Paris, (1995), 151-168.
- Voile, B., 'Hagiographie et communauté copte au XXe siècle: naissance d'un courant éditorial', in Le saint et son milieu, IFAO (Cahier des Annales Islamologiques, 19), Cairo (2000), 187-201.
- Wakin, E., 'The Solitary Patriarch', in A Lonely Minority: The Modern Story of Egypt's Copts, New York, (1963), 103-118.
- Watson, J., Abba Justus. A modern Desert Father, Maidstone (1993).
- Watson, J., 'Abba Kyrillos: Patriarch and Solitary', Coptic Church Review, 17, no 1-2, (1996).
- Watson, J., 'Signposts to Biography-Pope Shenouda III', in Between Desert and City: The Coptic Orthodox Church Today, (eds. Van Doorm, N. and K. Vogt), Oslo, (1997), 244-254.
- Watson, J., 'The Transfigured Cross. A Study of Father Bischoi Kamel', Coptic Church Review, 23, no 1-2, (2002).
- Weessa, W., Al Kosheh, The Absent Truth, Cairo, (2004), (in Arabic).
- Winstedt, E.O., Coptic texts on Saint Theodore the General, St. Theodore the Eastern, Chamoul and Justus, Oxford, (1910).
- Wissa Wassef, C., Pratiques rituelles et alimentaires des Coptes, IFAO, Cairo, (1971).
- Wissa Wassef, C., 'Le Calendrier copte, de l'antiquité à nos jours', Journal of Near Eastern Studies 30, (1971), 1-48.
- Yanney, R., 'Modern Coptic Saints: Father Justus of Saint Antony', The Coptic Church Review, 6/3, (1985).
- Zanetti, U., 'Une seconde copie du livre de Marc Ibn al-Qanbar sur la confession', OCP LV, (1989), 199-200.
- Zanetti, U., 'Matarieh, la Sainte Famille et les baumiers', AB 111, (1993), 21-68.

Monastic Life

- Abbott, N., The Monasteries of the Fayyum, Chicago, (1937).
- Alcock, A. (ed.), The Life of Samuel of Kalamun by Isaac the Presbyter, Warminster, (1983).
- Amélineau, E., Histoire de Saint Pachôme et de ses Communautés, Paris, (1889), (trans. from Coptic).
- Amélineau, E., Les moines égyptiens. Vie de Chenoute, (1889).
- Amélineau, E., Histoire des Monastère de la Basse Egypte, Paris, (1894), (includes lives of Maximus and Domatius, and John Kolobos).
- Amélineau, E., Œuvres de Shenoudi, 2 vols., Paris, (1907, 1914).

- Athanasius (Saint), The Life of Saint Antony, (and other texts) trans. by T. Vivian and A. Athanassakis, Kalamazoo, (2003).
- Athanase (Saint), Vie et conduite de notre Père Saint Antoine, Belle., (1984); also in SC 400, (1994).
- Athanassakis, A. (ed.), The Life of Pachomius, Missoula, (1975).
- Bell, D. (trans.), Besa: The Life of Shenoute, Kalamazoo, (1983).
- Belmer, H., 'Shenoute', in The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt, New York (2001).
- Besse, J.M., Les Moines d'Orient antérieurs au Concile de Chalcédoine, Paris, (1900).
- Boon, A., Pachomiana Latina, Règle et épîtres de saint Pacôme, Louvain, (1932).
- Bock, V. de, Matériaux pour servir à l'archéologie de l'Egypte chrétienne, St Petersburg, (1901).
- Boud'hors, A., 'Les moines égyptiens dans leur siècle: la tentative de Chenouté', in Sagesses de l'Orient ancien et chrétien, (ed. R. Lebrun), Paris (1993), 39-62. (=Sciences théologiques et religieuses, 2).
- Bousquet, J. and F. Nau, Histoire de saint Pachôme, PO, 4.5, Paris, (1907).
- Brakke, D., 'Research and Publications in Egyptian Monasticism', ICCopt 8 Paris (2004).
- Bridel, P., (ed.), Le site monastique copte des Kellia. Sources historiques et explorations archéologiques. Actes du Colloque de Genève 1984, Geneva, (1986).
- Brooks Hedstrom, D., ' Your Cell Will Teach You All Things ': The Relationship between Monastic Practice and the Architectual Design of the Cell in Coptic Monasticism, 400-1000, Ph.D., Miami University (Ohio), (2001).
- Buschhausen, H., 'Das Mönchswesen in Abu Fano', in Agypten. Schätze aus dem Wüstensand, Exhibition in Gustav Lübcke Museum 1996, Wiesbaden, (1996), 59-68.
- Budge, E. (trans.), The Paradise or Garden of the Fathers, New York, (1904, reprint Seattle/Washington, 1984).
- Buschausen, H., 'Die Ausgrabung in Abu Fano und die Identifizierung des Apa Bane, des ältesten authentischen Heligen Ägyptens', Acta XIII Congressus Internationalis Archaeologiae Christianae (Studi di Antichita Cristiana 54), III, (Cambi ed.), Vatican, (1998), 159-174.
- Butler, C., The Lausiac History of Palladius, Cambridge, (1898, reprint 1967).
- Bunge, G., Akèdia: La doctrine spirituelle d'Evagre le Pontique sur l'Acédie, Belle, (1991).
- Bunge, G., La Paternité Spirituelle dans la Pensée d'Evagre le Pontique, Belle, (1994).
- Bunge, G., and A. de Vogüe, Quatre ermites égyptiens (Pambo, Macaire d'Egypte, Macaire d'Alexandrie, Evagre), Belle, 60, (1994).
- Bunge, G., Evagre le Pontique. Traité pratique ou Le Moine. Cent chapitres sur la vie spirituelle, Belle, 67, (1996).
- Burmester, O.H.E., A Guide to the Monasteries of Wadi'n-Natrun, Cairo, (1954).
- Burton-Christie, D., 'Practice Makes Perfect: Interpretation of Scripture in the Apophthegmata Patrum', in E.A. Livingstone, Studia Patristica X, Leuven, (1989), 213-218.
- Burton-Christie, D., The Word in the Desert: Scripture and the Quest for Holiness in Early Egyptian Monasticism, Oxford, (1993). (see bibliography)
- Burton-Christie, D., 'Oral Culture and Biblical Interpretation in Early Egyptian Monasticism', Studia Patristica 30, (1997), 144-150.
- Cassian, J., Conferences, trans. by E.C.S. Gibson, Oxford, (1894; reprint New York 1985; also Newmann, New York 2000).
- Cassian, J., Conférences, SC 42, 54, 64, (1955, 1958, 1959).
- Cassian, J., Institutions Cénobitiques, SC 109, (1965).
- Cauwenbergh (van), P., Etude sur les Moines d'Egypte depuis le Concile de Chalcédoine jusqu'à l'Invasion Arabe, Paris, (1914).
- Chadwick, O., John Cassian, a Study in Primitive Monasticism, Cambridge, (1950).
- Chaillot, C., 'Vies de moniales coptes', LMC 16, (1989), 60-65.
- Chassinat, E., 'Fouilles à Bawit', MIFAO, vol. 13, Cairo, (1911).
- Chadwick, H., John Cassian, Cambridge, (1968).
- Chevillat, A. and E., Moines du Désert d'Egypte, Lyon, (1990).
- Chitty, D.J., The Desert a City, Oxford (1966, repr. 1977).
- Clédat, J., Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouit, Cairo, MIFAO XII/1 et 2, (1904-1906), XXXIX (1916).
- Clédat, J., Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouit, (Notes with contributions by A. Boud'hors, R.G. Coquin, E. Gaillard), MIFAO 111, Cairo, (1999).
- Cody, A., 'Scetis', in CE, 7 (1991), 21002-6.
- Coptic Monastic Renaissance (book for the 50 Years Jubilee of monastic life of Pope Shenouda III, Cairo (2004), (in Arabic, with pictures).
- Coquin, R.G., 'La Règle de Moïse d'Abydos', Mélanges Guillaumont, Cahiers d'Orientalisme 20, (1989), 103-110.

- Coquin, R.G., 'Akhmim, monasteries', CE, 1 (1991), 78 .
- Coquin, R.G., 'Dayr Anba Bidaba', CE, 3 (1991).
- Coquin, R.G.,'Dayr Anba Shinuda', CE, 3 (1991).
- Coquin, R., 'Moses of Abydos', CE 5 (1991), 1679-1681.
- Coquin, R.G., 'Tabennese', CE, 7 (1991).
- Coquin, R.G., 'A propos des vêtements des moines égyptiens', BSAC 31, (1992), 3-24.
- Coquin, R.G., 'Réflexions sur l'expansion du mouvement ascétique égyptien', in Itinéraires d'Egypte. Mélanges offerts au Père M. Martin, (C. Décobert, ed.), Cairo, IFAO Bibliothèques des Etudes 107, (1992), 13-19.
- Crislip, A., 'Sickness and health in the Monasteries of Pachomius and Shenoute', ICCopt 7 Leiden (2000), published in 2004, 867-876.
- Crum, W.E., and White, H.G.E., The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes, (reprint Milan 1977), 2 vols.
- Curzon, R., Visits to the Monasteries in the Levant, London, (1847).
- Daumas, F., and A. Guillaumont, Kellia I, IFAO, (1969).
- Davis, M.H., 'The Life of John Kame', PO 14/2, (1919).
- De Lacy O'Leary, D., (ed.), The Arabic Life of S. Pisentius, PO 22/3, (1930), 317-487.
- Den Heijer, J., 'Relations between Copts and Syrians in the Light of Recent Discoveries at Dayr as-Suryan', ICCopt 7 Leiden (2000), published in 2004, 923-938.
- Deseille, P., L'Esprit du monachisme pachômien, Belle, (1973).
- Deseille, P., 'Les homélies spirituelles de Saint Macaire', Belle SO 40, (1984).
- Desprez, V., 'Pachomian Cenobitism', The American Benedictine Review 43, (1992), 233-249.
- Donahue, C., 'The Agape of the Hermits of Scete', Studia Monastica 1, (1959), 97-114.
- Doorn (van)-Harder, P., Contemporary Coptic Nuns, Columbia, (1995).
- Doorn (van)-Harder, N., 'Discovering New Roles. Coptic Nuns and Church Revival', in Between Desert and City, Oslo, (1997), 84-100.
- Doresse, J., 'Saints coptes de Haute Egypte: Les monastères de Djemeh à Benhadad, aux alentours du VIe siècle', Journal Asiatique 236, (1948), 247-270.
- Doresse, J., 'Monastères coptes aux environs d'Armant en Thébaïde, AB 67, (1949), 327-349.
- Doresse, J., 'Recherches d'archéologie copte: Le Couvent de Samuel près de Negada', Bulletin de l'Institut d'Egypte 34, (1953), 470-1.
- Doresse, J., 'Recherches d'archéologie copte: les monastères de Moyenne Egypte', Comptes rendus, Académie des Inscriptions, (1952), 390-395.
- Doresse, J., 'Monastères coptes de Haute Egypte', Bulletin de la Société Française d'Egyptologie 59, (1970), 7-29.
- Doresse, J., Les anciens monastères coptes de Moyenne Egypte, (thesis, Paris 1967), ed. in Yverdon, (2000), (3 vols.).
- Dossier 'Chrétiens d'Egypte au IVe siècle', Dossiers Histoire et Archéologie, 133, (Dec. 1988).
- Du Bourguet, P., 'Saint Antoine et Saint Paul du Désert', Bulletin de la Société Française d'Egyptologie 7 (1951), 37-46.
- Du Bourguet, P., 'Jean Khame', DS 8 (1973), 594-595.
- Elm, S., 'Egypt', in Virgins of God. The Making of Asceticism in Late Antiquity, Oxford, (1994), 227-385.
- Emmel, S., Shenoute's Literary Corpus, CSCO, (2004).
- Evagre le Pontique, Sur les Pensées, (Gehin, P., A. and C. Guillaumont, eds.), SC, (1998).
- Evagrius of Pontus, Ad Monachos, (ed. and trans. J. Driscoll, New York, (2003).
- Evagrius of Pontus, The Greek Ascetic Corpus, (ed. and trans. R. Sinkewicz), Oxford, (2003).
- Evelyn-White, H.G., History of the Monasteries of Nitria and of Scetis, New York, (1932-3), 3 vols.
- Evetts, B.T.A., The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt attributed to Abu Salih the Armenian, Oxford, (1895, reprint 1992).
- Evetts, B.T.A., 'Le rite copte de la prise d'habit et de la profession monacale', ROC 2/I (1906), 60-73, 130-148.
- Festugière, A.M., 'Enquête sur les moines d'Egypte', Les Moines d'Orient, 4/1, Paris (1964).
- Festugière, A.M., 'La Première Vie grecque de saint Pachôme', in Les Moines d'Orient, 4/2, Paris, (1965).
- Fiey, J., 'Coptes et syriaques. Contacts et échanges', SOCC 15, (1972/3), 295-365.
- Gabra, G., 'Zur Vita des Bane (Abu Fano)', BSAC 29, (1990), 27-42.
- Gascou, J., 'Enaton', CE 3, (1991), 954-58.
- Giamberardini, G.P., 'Le Suore Copte Ortodosse', La Voce del Nilo, 14/12, Cairo, (1955), 3-23.
- Giamberardini, G.P., 'L'avvenire del monachesimo egiziano', in Il Monachesiom orientale oggi, SF 67/2-3, (1970), 313-330.
- Gibson, E.C.S., 'The Works of John Cassian', in Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Michigan (1964).

- Godlewski, W., Deir el-Bahari (V), Le Monastère de St Phoibammon, Warsaw, (1986).
- Godlewski, W., 'Naqlun 1989-1992', in Acts of the Fifth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Rome, (1993), 183-196.
- Godlewski, W., 'Christian Nubia 1990-1996', ICCopt 6 Münster (1996), (published 1999), 51-64.
- Godlewski, W., 'Naqlun: Recent Studies', BSAC 29, (2000), 69-87.
- Godlewski, W., 'Naqlun. Excavations 2002', in Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean, Warsaw, (2003), 163-171.
- Godlewski, W., Christian Nubia 1996-2000, ICCopt 7 Leiden (2000), (published 2004), 1037-1051.
- Godlewski, W., Research and Publications in Christian Nubia', ICCopt 8 Paris (2004).
- Goehring, J.E., The Letter of Ammon and Pachomian Monasticism, Berlin/New York, (1985).
- Goehring, J.E., 'New Frontiers in Pachomian Studies', in The Roots of Egyptian Christianity, (Pearson and Goehring, eds.), Philadelphia, (1986), 236-258.
- Goehring, J.E., 'The World Engaged: The Social and Economic World of Early Egyptian Monasticism', in Gnotiscism and the Early Christian World, (ed. J.E. Goehring, Sonoma, (1990), 134-144.
- Goehring, J.E., 'Withdrawing from the Desert: Pachomius and the Development of Village Monasticism in Upper Egypt', Harvard Theological Review 89, (1996), 267-285.
- Goehring, J.E., 'Monastic Diversity and Ideological Boundaries in Fourth-Century Christian Egypt', Journal of Early Christian Studies 5, (1997), 61-83.
- Goehring, J.E., 'Recent Research in Coptic Monasticism (1992-1996)', in Ägypten und Nubien in Spätantiker and Christlicher Zeit, Akten des 6. internationalen Koptologenkongress, Münster 1966, (eds. S. Emmel, Krause), Wiesbaden, vol. 1, (1999), 65-78.
- Goehring, J.E., Ascetics, Society, and the Desert. Studies in Early Egyptian Monasticism, Harrisburg, (1999).
- Gould, G., 'Pachomios of Tabennesi and the Foundation of an Independant Monastic Community, in Studies in Church History 23, Oxford (1986), 15-24.
- Gould, G.H., 'Moving on and Staying put in the Apophthegmata Patrum', in E.A. Livingstone (ed.), Studia Patristica 20, Leuven, (1989), 231-237.
- Gould, G., 'Early Egyptian Monasticism and the Church', in Monastic Studies: The Continuity of Tradition, (J. Loades ed.), Bangor, (1990), 1-10.
- Gould, G., 'The Life of Antony and the Origins of Christian Monasticism in Fourth-Century Egypt', MH, 1, (1991).
- Gould, G., The Desert Fathers on Monastic Community, Oxford, (1993).
- Gould, G., 'Pachomian Sources Revisited', Studia Patristica, 30, (1997), 202-217.
- Grossmann, P., 'Abu Mena, Grabungen von 1961-1969', ASA 61 (1973), 37-48.
- Grossmann, P., 'The Basilica of St. Pachomius', Biblical Archaeologist 42, (1979), 232-6.
- Grossmann, P., Mittelalterliche langhauskuppelkirchen und verwandte Typen in Oberägyten, Koptische 3, Abhandlungen des deutschen archäelogischen Instituts Kairo, (1982).
- Grossmann, P., 'Faw Qibli-1986 Excavation Report', Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Egypte 72, (1982).
- Grossmann, P., Abu Mina. A Guide to the Ancient Pilgrimage Center, Cairo (1986).
- Grossmann, P., 'Pbow', CE 8, (1991).
- Grossmann, P., 'Zur Datierung der ersten Kirchenbauten in der Sketis', Byzantinische Zeitschrift, 90, (1997), 367-395.
- Grossman, P. and Bishop Samuil, 'Researches in the Laura of John Kolobos (Wadi Natrun), ICCoptS 6, Münster, (1996), (published in 1999), 360-364.
- Grossmann, P., 'Report on the excavation at Abu Mina in spring 2000', BSAC 30, (2001), 97-108.
- Grossmann, P., 'Christliche Archäologie in Ägypten: Bericht über die Forschungslage seit 1996', ICCopt 7 Leiden (2000), (published 2004), 1011-1036.
- Grossmann, P., 'Christliche Archäologie in Ägypten: Bericht über die Forschungslage seit 2000', ICCopt 8 Paris (2004).
- Grillmeier, A., 'Das 'Gebet zu Jesus' und das 'Jesus-Gebet'. Eine Neue Quelle zum 'Jesus-Gebet' aus dem Weissen Kloster', After Chalcedon. Studies in Theology and Church History, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 18, (ed. Lager, C.), Leuven, (1985).
- Gruber, M.F., Sacrifice in the Desert : An Ethnography of the Coptic Monastery, (Ph.d. in Anthropology), State University of New York at Stony Brook, (1990), (University Microfilm International).
- Gruber, M.F., 'The Monastery as the Nexus of Coptic Cosmology', in Between Desert and City: The Coptic Orthodox Church Today, (eds. Van Doorm, N : and K. Vogt), Oslo, (1997), 68-83.
- Guillaumont, A,, L'Asceticon copte de l'Abbé Isaïe, IFAO, (1956).
- Guillaumont, C., 'Evagre le Pontique', DS 4/2, (1961), 1731-1744.
- Guillaumont, A., 'Le site des Cellia', Revue Archéologique, (1964), II, 43-50.

- Guillaumont, A., 'Une inscription copte sur la prière de Jésus', in OCP 34, (1968), 310-325.
- Guillaumont, A., Evagre le Pontique, Traité pratique ou le Moine, SC 170, 171, (1971).
- Guillaumont, A., 'Histoire des moines aux Kellia', OLP 8, (1977), 187-203.
- Guillaumont, A., 'The Jesus Prayer among the Monks of Egypt', Eastern Churches Review, 6, (1974), 66-71.
- Guillaumont, A., 'Antoine. La conception du désert chez les moines d'Egypte', RHR 188, (1975), 3-22.
- Guillaumont, A., 'Histoire des moines aux Kellia', Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica 8, (1977), 187-203.
- Guillaumont, A., Aux Origines du Monachisme Chrétien, Belle., (1979).
- Guillaumont, A., 'Le Site des Kellia menacé de destruction', Prospection et sauvegarde des antiquités de l'Egypte, Cairo, (1981).
- Guillaumont, A., Le gnostique, ou A celui qui est devenu digne de la science/Evagre le Pontique, SC no 356, Paris, (1989).
- Guillaumont, A., 'L'enseignement spirituel des moines d'Egypte: la formation d'une tradition', in Maître et disciples dans les traditions religieuses, (M. Meslin, ed.), Paris, (1990), 143-154.
- Guillaumont, A., 'Le désert des Kellia, un grand site monastique égyptien', in Déserts chrétiens d'Egypte, Nice, (1993), 29-54.
- Guillaumont, A., Etudes sur la spiritualité de l'Orient chrétien, Belle, 66, (1996).
- Guillaumont, A., Un philosophe au désert, Evagre le Pontique, Paris, (2004).
- Guy, J.C., 'Le Centre Monastique de Scété dans la littérature du V^{e} siècle', OCP 30, (1964), 129-147.
- Guy, J.C., 'Jean Cassien, historien du monachisme égyptien ?', Studia Patristica 8, Berlin (1966).
- Guy, J.C., 'Jean Colobos ou le Petit, DS 8 (1972), 390-392.
- Guy, J.C., Les Apophtegmes des Pères. Collection systématique, in SC, (1993).
- Haas, C., Alexandria in Late Antiquity. Topography and Social Conflict, Baltimore-London, (1999).
- Halkin, F., 'Un monastère copte à Famagouste au 14^{e} siècle', Subsidia Hagiographica 51, (1971), 511-514.
- Halkin, F., Le corpus athénien de saint Pachôme, CdO, Geneva, (1982).
- Harmless, W., Desert Christians: An Introduction to Early Monastic Literature, New York, (Oxford University Press, (2004).
- Hausherr, I., Spiritual Direction in the Early Christian East, Kalamazoo, (1955, repr. 1990).
- Hausherr, I., Les Leçons d'un contemplatif, Le Traité de l'Oraison d'Evagre le Pontique, Paris (1960).
- Henein, N., and Wuttmann, M., 'Kellia II, l'ermitage copte QR 195', IFAO, Cairo, (2000).
- Husson, G., 'L'habitat monastique en Egypte', in Hommages à S. Sauneron, vol. II, Cairo, (1979), 197-207.
- Innemée, K., 'Coptic Monastic Vestments and their Relationship with Liturgical Vestments', in ICCoptS 4, Louvain-la-Neuve (1992), vol. 2, 463-470.
- Innemée, K., Ecclesiastical Vestments in Nubia and the Christian Near East, Leiden, (1992).
- Innemée, K., 'Deir al-Baramus, Excavations at the so-called site of Moses the Black (1994-98), BSAC 39, (2000), 123-135.
- Innemée, K., 'The threatened sites of the Wadi Natrun', Egyptian Archaeology, 21, (2002).
- Johnson, D., 'The State of the Pachomian Monasteries under Justinian', ICCopt 8 Paris (2004).
- Jullien, R.P. M., Voyage au désert de Scété et de Nitrie, Lyon, (1882).
- Kamel, S., 'Das Kloster in Höxter-Brenkhausen', KMT 5/3, (1996), 43-44.
- Kasser, R., Kellia, Topographie I, RSAC, Geneva, (1967).
- Kasser, R. Kellia. Topographie, Geneva, (1972).
- Kasser, R., Le site monastique copte des Kellia. Recherches 1981-1983, Louvain, (1984).
- Kasser, R., (ed.), EK 8184, Projet international de sauvetage scientifique des Kellia, Mission suisse d'archéologie copte de l'Université de Genève, 2, 4, ed. Peeters, (1994, 1999).
- Kasser, R., 'La Prière de Jésus kelliote', OCP 62, (1996), 407-410.
- Kaufmann, K.M., Die Menasstadt, Leipzig, (1910).
- Keenan, M.K. (trans.), The Life of Anthony by Saint Athanasius, in Early Christian Biographies (ed. J.Roy), New York, (1952). In the same book see The Life of St. Paul, the First Hermit.
- Khalil, S., 'Un texte de la Philocalie sur 'La Prière à Jésus' dans un manuscrit arabo-copte médiéval', POC 43, (1993), 5-38.
- Knowles, P., 'Monastic Prayer : Text and Context', St Vladimir Quarterly 39, (1995), 143-155.
- Kok, F., 'L'Office pachômien : Psallere, orare, legere', in Ecclesia Orans 9, (1992), 69-95.
- Krause, M., 'Mönchtum in Ägypten', in Koptische Kunst. Christentum am Nil, (Exhibition in Essen, Germany in 1963), 77-84.
- Krawiec, R., 'Shenoute and the Women of the White Monastery', in Egyptian Monasticism in Late Antiquity, New York, (2002).

- Kühn, K.H., (tr., ed.), Letters and Sermons of Besa, CSCO vol. 158, (1956).
- Kühn, K.H., (tr., ed.), Pseudo-Shenoute, On Christian Behavior, CSCO 207 (1960).
- Labriolle, P. de, Vie de Paul de Thèbes et vie de saint Hilarion, Paris, (1907).
- Lanne, E., 'La Prière de Jésus dans la tradition Egyptienne', Irénikon 50, (1977), 163-203.
- Lanne, E., 'Catéchèse et initiation chrétienne dans la tradition pachômienne', in Conférences Saint Serge, Rome (1993), 145-162.
- Leclercq, H., 'Scété', DACL 15 (1950), 994-1002.
- Lefort, L.T., La Règle de saint Pachôme, Louvain, (1932).
- Lefort, L.T., 'Les premiers monastères pachomiens. Exploration topographique', Muséon 52 (1939), 379-407.
- Lefort, L.T., Les Vies coptes de saint Pachôme et de ses premiers successeurs', Louvain, (1943).
- Lefort, L.T., 'Œuvres de S. Pachôme et de ses disciples', CSCO 160, Louvain, (1956).
- Leipoldt, J., Shenute von Atripe, Leipzig, (1903).
- Leroy, L., Moines et Monastères du Proche-Orient, Paris, (1958).
- Leroy, L., 'Un témoignage inédit sur l'état du Monastère des Syriens au Wadi n'Natrun au début du 16e siècle', BIFAO 65 (1967), 1-23.
- Leroy, L., 'Les couvents des Chrétiens', trans. from al-Makrizi, ROC, (1970), 190-208, 269-279; (1980), 33-46 and 192-204.
- Leroy, L., 'Complément à l'histoire du Ouadi Natroun d'Evelyn White', BIFAO 70 (1971), 225-233.
- Le Monde Copte, no 21-22, (1993), on monachism.
- Malevez, M., 'Deux aspects faussement contradictoires de la xeniteia: la garde et l'abandon de la cellule monastique', XII^{e} Journée d'Etudes Coptes, Lyon, 2005 (to be published).
- Martin, M., 'Laures et ermitages du désert d'Egypte', in Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph, Beyrouth, 42, (1966), 181-198.
- Martin, M., 'Abou Darag dans la Montagne de St Antoine', in BIFAOC, 70, (1970), 173-189.
- Martin, M., 'La Laure de Dêr al Dik à Antinoé', IFAO, BEC 8, Cairo, (1971).
- Martin, M., 'Notes inédites du P. Jullien sur trois monastères chrétiens d'Egypte: Deir Abu Fana -Le couvent des 'Sept Montagnes'- Deir Amba Bisada', BIFAO 71, (1972), 119-128.
- Maspéro, J., and Drioton, E., Fouilles exécutées à Baouit, Cairo, (1932-1943).
- Masri, El, I., 'A historical survey of the convents of women in Egypt up to the present day', BSAC, 14, (1958), 60-111.
- Meinardus, O., Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts, Cairo, (1961, repr. 1989).
- Meinardus, O., 'Ethiopian Monks in Eygpt', Publications de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales de la Bibliothèque Patriarcale d'Alexandrie 11, Analecta, Alexandrie (1962), 61-70.
- Meinardus, O., 'The Ancient Monasteries around Alexandria', in 'Ancient and Modern Churches of Alexandria', Or Ch 48, (1964), 166-168.
- Meinardus, O., 'Recent Developments in Egyptian Monasticism, Oriens Christianus, 49, (1965), 79-89.
- Meinardus, O., 'Patriarchal Cells in the Nile-Delta', Orientalia Suecana 14, (1965), 15, (1966), 51-61.
- Meinardus, O., 'The Hermits of the Wadi al-Rayan', Studia Orientalia Christiana Collectanea 11, Cairo, (1966), 294-318.
- Meinardus, O., 'Zur monastischen Erneuerung in der koptischen Kirche', Or Ch 61, (1977), 59-70.
- Meinardus, O., 'Die Nischen-Fresken im Roten Kloster bei Sohag', Or Ch 65, (1981), 148-162.
- Meinardus, O., 'Die Kaisersöhne des sketischen Wüste', OrCh 70, (1986), 181-187.
- Meinardus, O., 'Notes on the Revival of Upper Egypt Monasticism', COP 8, (1987), 67-74.
- Meinardus, O., 'Zeitgenössische Gottesnarren in den Wüsten Ägyptens', OsSt 36, (1987), 301-310.
- Meinardus, O., 'Zur Renaissance der koptischen Nonnemklöster, OkSt 37/1, (1988), 23-30.
- Meinardus, O., 'Das verschollene St. Johannes Colobuskloster entdeckt', KMT 6/3, (1997), 43-45.
- Meinardus, O., 'Die koptischen Kirchen der St. George-Gasse, Alt-Kairo', KMT 10/4, (2001), 46-49.
- Meinardus, O., 'Hermopolis magna', KMT 12/1, (2003), 42-46.
- Meinardus, O., 'The Hermits of the Wadi al-Rayan Revisited, 2004', CCR 25/4, 118-126.
- Meinardus, O., 'Die Eremiten des Wadi al-Rayan 2004', Kemet 4 (2004), 2-4.
- Mendieta, E.A. de, 'Le Système cénobitique basilien comparé au système cénobitique pachômien', Revue de l'Histoire des Religions 52, (1957), 31-80.
- Meyer, R.T., (trans.), St. Athanasius.The Life of Saint Antony, New York, (1950).
- Meyer, R.T., (trans.), The Lausiac History of Palladius, New York, (1964).
- Miquel, P., Lexique de désert : Etude de quelques mots-clés du vocabulaire monastique grec ancien, Bellefontaine, (1986).

- Miquel, P., A. Guillaumont, M. Rassart-Debergh, P. Bridel, A. de Voguë. Déserts chrétiens d'Egypte, Nice, (1993).
- Monneret de Villard, U., Les Couvents près de Sohag, 2 vols., Milan, (1925-26).
- Monneret de Villard, U., Description générale du Monastère de S. Siméon à Aswan, Milan, (1927).
- Monneret de Villard, U., Les Eglises du Monastère des Syriens au Wadi en-Natroun, Milan, (1928).
- Montserrat, D., 'A List of Monastic Garments from Oxyrhynchus', BASP 29, (1992), 81-84.
- Van Moorsel, van P., 'Deir es Sourian Revisited', Nubian Letters 17, (1992), 1-13.
- Morard, F., 'Monachos moine. Histoire du terme grec jusqu'au 4e siècle', FZPT 20 (1973), 332-344.
- Munier, H., 'Les monuments coptes d'après les explorations du Père Michel Jullien, BSAC 6, (1940), 141-168.
- Orlandi, T., Paolo di Tamma: opere, Roma, C.I.M., (1988).
- Orlandi, T., 'Shenoute d'Atripe', in DS, 14, (1989), 797-804.
- Palladius, The Lausiac History. Translation, by R. Meyer, Westminster and London, (1965).
- Palladius, Les Moines du désert. Histoire Lausiaque, (L. Leloir, ed.), Paris, (1981).
- Paphnutius, Histories of the Monks of Upper Egypt and the Life of Onophrius, T. Vivian (ed.), Kalamazoo, (2000).
- Peeters, P., 'Le Dossier copte de saint Pachôme', AB 64, (1946), 263-267.
- Plasted, M., The Macarian Legacy, Oxford (2004).
- Quecke, H., 'Gebet und Gottesdients der Mönche nach den Texten', Le site monastique des Kellia, Mission suisse d'archéologie copte, Geneva, (1986), 93-103.
- Quibell, J.E., Excavations at Saqqara, Cairo (1908, 1909, 1912).
- Regnault, L., 'La prière monologistos dans les apophtegmes', Irénikon 47, (1974), 467-493.
- Regnault, L., 'Quelques apophtegmes arabes sur la Prière de Jésus', Irénikon 52, (1979), 344-355.
- Regnault, L., Abba, dis-moi une parole. Paroles mémorables des Pères du désert choisies et traduites, Solesmes, (1984).
- Regnault, L., A l'écoute des pères du désert aujourd'hui. Apophtegmes des Pères traduits et commentés, Solesmes, (1989).
- Regnault, L., La vie quotidienne des Pères du désert en Egypte au IVe siècle, Paris, (1990).
- Regnault, L., L'Evangile vécu au désert. Paroles des Pères du désert traduites et commentées, Solesmes, (1990).
- Regnault, L., Les chemins de Dieu au désert. La collection systématique des Apophtegemes des Pères, Solesmes, (1992).
- Reymondeau, R. and Khater, A., Le Monastère de Phoebammon dans la Thébaïde, 3 t., Cairo (1961, 1965, 1981), Publ. SAC.
- Rousseau, P., 'Cassian, Contemplation and the Cenobitic Life', Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 26 (1975), 113-126.
- Rousseau, P., Ascetics, Authority and the Church. In the Age of Jerome and Cassian, Oxford, (1978).
- Rousseau, P., Pachomius: The Making of a Community in Fourth-Century, Berkeley, (1985).
- Rousseau, P., 'The Desert Fathers, Antony and Pachomius', in The Study of Spirituality, (eds. C.P.M. Jones, G. Wainwright and E. Yarnold), London, SPCK, (1986), 119-130.
- Rousseau, P., 'Christian Ascetism and the Early Monks', in I. Hazlett (ed.), Early Christianity: Origins and Evolution to A.D. 600, London, (1991), 112-122.
- Rubenson, S., The Letters of Antony: Monasticism and the Making of a Saint, Minneapolis, (1995).
- Rufin d'Aquilée, L'histoire des moines d'Egypte, Geneva, (1993).
- Russell, N., (trans.), The Lives of the Desert Fathers. Historia Monachorum in Aegypto, Kalamazoo, (1981).
- Sachsen zu, J.G., Streifzüge durch die Kirchen und Kloster Ägyptens, Berlin (1914).
- Satoshi, T., 'La Vie de S. Macaire l'Egyptien: Etat de la question', AB 118, (2000), 267- 290.
- Sauget, J.M., 'La double recension arabe des préceptes aux novices de l'abbé Isaïe de Scété', in Mélanges Tisserant III, Rome, (1964), 300-307.
- Sauneron, S., and Coquin, R.G., Les Ermitages chrétiens du désert d'Esna, IFAO, 4 vols., Cairo, (1972).
- Shenute's works, CSCO 41-42, 73, 96, 108, 129.
- Sheridan, M., 'The Development of the Interior Life in Certain Early Monastic Writing in Egypt', in The Spirituality of Ancient Monasticism, (Starowieysky, ed.), Cracow, (1995), 91-104.
- Sheridan, M., 'Il mondo spirituale e intellettuale del primo monachesimo egiziano', in Egitto cristiano. Aspetti e problemi in età tardo-antica, (ed. A. Camplani), Rome, (1997), 177-216.
- Sheridan, M., 'The Spiritual and Intellectual World of Early Egyptian Monasticism, Coptica 1, (2002), 1-51.
- Simon, J., 'Le monastère copte de Samuel de Kalamon', OCP 1, (1935), 46-52.
- Sophrone, Vie de Marie l'Egyptienne, Paris, (1985); English translation, University of Michigan Press (1949).
- Stegeman, B., 'Contrasting Philosophies of Monasticism in the Modern Coptic Church', BSAC 20, (1971), 159-166.
- Stegeman, B., 'Several Philosophies of Service Within the Modern Coptic Church', BSAC 23, (1981), 33-42.
- Stewart, C., The World of Desert Fathers. Stories and Sayings from the Anonymous Series of the Apophthegmata Patrum, Oxford, (1986).
- Swanson, M., 'These Three Words will suffice: The 'Jesus Prayer' in Coptic Tradition', Parole de l'Orient, 25, (2000), 695-714.
- Ten Hacken, C., 'Coptic and Arabic texts on Macrobius, an Egyptian Monk of the Sixth century', ICCopt 6 Münster (1996), (published in 1999), 117-126.
- Ten Hacken, C., 'The legend of Aûr: Arabic Texts concerning the foundation of the Monastery of Naqlun', ICCopt 7 Leiden (2000), (published in 2004), 337-348.
- Thelamon, F., 'Ascèse et sociabilité. Les conduits alimentaires des moines d'Egypte au IVe siècle', in REA, 38, (1992), 295-321.
- Timbie, J., 'The State of Research on the Career of Shenoute of Atripe', The Roots of Egyptian Christianity, (Pearson and Goehring eds.), Philadelphia, (1986), 258-270.
- Torp, H., 'Le monastère copte de Baouit', in Miscellanea Coptica, (1981), 1-8.
- Tousson, O., Cellia et ses Couvents, Alexandria, (1931).
- Un moine de Saint Macaire, 'Le monastère de Saint Macaire', Irénikon, 2, (1978), 203-215.
- Urbaniak-Walczak, K., 'Deir el-Naqlun: die koptischen Texte aus der Ermitage Nr. 25', The Journal of Juristic Papyrology, 29 (1999), 93-150.
- Veilleux, A., La liturgie dans le cénobitisme pachômien au quatrième siècle, Rome (1968).
- Veilleux, A., Pachomian Koinonia, (Life, Chronicles and Rules), 3 vols., Kalamazoo, (1980-1982).
- Veilleux, A., La Vie de Saint Pachôme selon la tradition copte, Belle, (1984).
- Veilleux, A., 'Report on Research in Coptic Monasticism: 1984-1988, in ICCoptS 4, Louvain-la-Neuve, (1992), II, 3-15.
- Veilleux, A., 'Report on Research in Coptic Monasticism: 1988-1992, in ICCoptS 5, 1, Washington, (1993), I, 209-219.
- Villecourt, L., 'Le rite copte de la profession monacale pour les religieuses', Bessarion, XIV, (1909), 35-49, 309-347.
- Vivian, T., Histories of the Monks of Upper Egypt, Kalamazoo, (1993).
- Vivian, T., 'Life of Antony', Coptic Church Review 15, (1994), 1-58.
- Vivian, T., The Coptic Life of Antony, San Francisco/London, (1995).
- Vivian, T., 'A Converstion that the Elders Had with One Another Concerning Thoughts, St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly 39/2, (1995), 127-141.
- Vivian, T. (trans.), Histories of the Monks of Upper Egypt and the Life of Onophrius, Kalamazoo, (2000).
- Vivian, T., 'Figures in the Carpet: Macarius the Great, Isaiah of Scetis, and Monastic Spirituality in the Wadi al-Natrun from the Fourth to the Sixth Century', Coptica 2, (2003) 69-105.
- Vogt, K., 'La moniale folle du monastère des tabennésiotes', Symbolae Osloense, vol. LXII, (1987), 95-108.
- Vogt, K., 'The Coptic Practice of the Jesus Prayer', in Between Desert and City, Oslo, (1997), 113-122.
- Vogüé, A. de, 'Les nouvelles lettres d'Horsièse et de Théodore', Studia Monastica 28 (1986), 7-50.
- Vogüé, A. de, 'L'influence du monachisme des Kellia en Occident', The Spirituality of Ancient Monasticism, (Starowieysky, ed.), Cracow, (1995), 163-182.
- Vogüe, A. de, 'De saint Pachôme à Jean Cassien. Etudes littéraires et doctrinales sur le monachisme égyptien à ses débuts', Studia Anselmiana, 120, Rome, (1996).
- Voile, B., 'Saintes, moniales, diaconesses: des femmes dans le renouveau copte', in Chrétiens du monde arabe (ed. B. Heyberger), Paris, (2003), 226-239.
- Voitenko, A., 'Paradise regained or Paradise lost? The Life of St. Onnophrios and Egyptian Monasticism at the end of the IVth Century ", ICCopt 8 Paris (2004).
- Waddell, H., The Desert Fathers, London, (1936, repr. 1987).
- Walters, C.C., Monastic Archaeology in Egypt, Warminster, (1974).
- Ward, B., The Desert Christian: Sayings of the Desert Fathers: The Alphabetical Collection, New York, (1975).
- Ward, B., The Wisdom of the Desert Fathers. Anonymous Series, Oxford, (1986).
- Ward, B., Harlots of the Desert: A Study of Repentance in Early Monastic Sources, Kalamazoo, (1987)=Cistercian Studies Series 106.
- Ward, B., 'Spiritual Direction in the Desert Fathers', Traditions of Spiritual Guidance, (L. Byrne ed.), Collegeville, (1990), 3-16.
- Watson, J., 'The Desert Fathers Today: Contemporary Coptic Monasticism', in Eastern Christianity, (ed. A. O'Mahony), London (2004), 112-139.
- Wietheger, C., Das Jeremias-Kloster zu Saqqara unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Inschriften, Altenberge, (1992).
- Winbush, V.L., Ascetic Behaviour in Graeco-Roman Antiquity. A Sourcebook, Minneapolis, (1990).

- Winlock, H.E., W.E. Crum and H.G. Evelyn-White, The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes, 2 vols., New York (1926, reprint 1973).
- Winstedt, E.O., Coptic Texts on Saint Theodore the General, St. Theodore the Eastern, Chamoul and Justus, London, (1910).
- Wipszycka, E., 'Les aspects économiques de la vie de la communauté des Kellia', in Le site monastique des Kellia, Geneva (1986), 117-144.
- Wipszycka, E., 'Une nouvelle règle monastique égyptienne', in Acts of the Third International Congress of Coptic Studies, Warsaw (1990), 499-503.
- Wipszycka, E., 'Le monachisme égyptien et les villes', Travaux et Mémoires, 12, (1994), 1-44.
- Wipszycka, E., 'Apports de l'Archéologie à l'Histoire du Monachisme Egyptien', The Spirituality of Ancient Monasticism, (Starowieysky, ed.), Cracow, (1995), 63-78.
- Wipszycka, E., 'Les clercs dans les communautés monastiques d'Egypte', The Journal of Juristic Papyrology, 26 (1996), 135-166.
- Wipszycka, E., 'Contribution à l'étude de l'économie de la congrégation pachômienne', The Journal of Juristic Papyrology, 26, (1996), 167-210.
- Wipszycka, E., 'Quand a-t-on commencé à voir les moines comme un groupe à part ? Pour comprendre Vita Antonii 46: 2-5', The Journal of Juristic Papyrology, 27, (1997), 83-92.
- Wipszycka, E, 'L'organisation économique de la congrégation pachômienne: critique du témoignage de Jérôme', in Ägypten und Nubien in Spätantiker and Christlicher Zeit, Akten des 6. internationalen Koptologenkongress, Wiesbaden, vol. 1, (1999), 411-422.
- Wipszycka, E, 'Les communautés monastiques dans l'Egypte byzantine', Valeur et Distance. Identités et Sociétés en Egypte, (Décobert, C., ed.), Paris, (2000), 71-81.
- Wipszycka, E, 'Le fonctionnement interne des monastères et des laures en Egypte du point de vue économique. A propos d'une publication récente de textes coptes de Bawit', Journal of Juridic Papyrology 31, (2001), 169-186.
- Wipszycka, E., 'Les recherches sur le monachisme égyptien, 1997-2000', ICCopt 7 Leiden (2000), published in 2004, II, 831-855.
- Wraw, J., 'Report. An Active Community of Coptic Orthodox Nuns', Sobornost 8/1, (1986), 47-50.
- Yamagata, T., 'Coptic Monasteries at Wadi el-Natroun in Egypt. From Fieldnotes on the Coptic Monk's Life', in Studia Culturae Islamicae, 20, Tokyo, (1983).
- Zakaria al-Baramusy (Fr.), 'The kasr of Saint Mary Baramus Monastery after the last Restoration from 1994 to 1995', ICCopt 7 Leiden (2000), (published 2004), 1105-1118.
- Zanetti, U., 'Vie de saint Jean, higoumène de Scété au VIIe siècle, AB 114, (1996), 273-405.
- Zanetti, U., 'Monachisme à Scété, hier et aujourd'hui ', Monachisme d'Orient et d'Occident: l'Orient monastique. Quelques jalons au cours du premier millénaire, (ed. by Association des Amis de Sénanque (Abbaye de Lérins), Cannes, (1986), 121-147.
- Zanetti. U., 'Le Testament spirituel de Saint Macaire', Irénikon 2 (2001), 179-202.
- Zirnheld, C.A., Marc le Moine, Traités spirituels et théologiques, Belle, (1985).

List of Illustrations

p. 1 Pope Shenouda reading the Gospel during the liturgy following the consecration of the Coptic Orthodox Church in 2004 in Geneva, Switzerland
p. 2 Liturgy in the Church of Saint Barbara, Old Cairo
p. 4 Good Friday in the Coptic Church in Châtenay-Malabry near Paris, France
p. 4 Metropolitan Abraham during the Easter procession in the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem

History

p. 17 Pyramids in Giza
p. 21 Coptic manuscript

Organization of the Church

p. 22 Patriarch Shenouda III (1971-)
p. 22 Church of al-Mu'allaqa , Old Cairo
p. 22 Old Patriarchate and Cathedral of Saint Mark, Clot Bey
p. 23 Patriarch Cyril IV (1854-61)
p. 23 Patriarch Cyril V (1874-1927)
p. 24 Dr Sarwat Bassily, deputy of the central *maglis milli* in 2004
p. 25 Patriarch Cyril VI (1959-71)
p. 25 Bishop Samuel (d. 1981)
p. 27 Church of Saint or Anba Ruwais (F) and Institute of Coptic Studies (R)
p. 27 Cathedral of Saint Mark (G)
p. 28 Shrine with some relics of Saint Mark (M)
p. 32 Seminarians in Anba Ruwais (2004-5)
p. 32 Seminary in the Monastery of Muharraq
p. 32 Seminarians with the director, Father Benjamin, in front of the Seminary in the Monastery of Muharraq (2002)
p. 32 Students at the Saint Didymus Institute in Shubra, Cairo
p. 32 Students with a blind teacher, Mr Yusuf, at the Didymus Institute in the Monastery of Muharraq
p. 35 Saint's Mark Centre, Nasr City
p. 35 The Good Shepherd's Hospital, Samalut
p. 36 Saint Mark's Church in Heliopolis
p. 37 Father Dawud Lamei with faithful on a trip to a monastery
p. 37 New building for activities in Saint Mark's Church in Heliopolis
p. 38 Villa of the first deaconesses in Giza
p. 39 Deaconesses in Giza
p. 39 Deaconesses in Saint Abraham's Monastery and Centre in Fayyum
p. 39 Student girls's hostel in Giza
p. 40 Archdeacon Ramses Naguib

p. 40 Meeting place in Muqattam in the Centre of Saint Simeon the Tanner, Cairo
p. 40 Underground church in Muqattam in the Centre of Saint Simeon the Tanner
p. 40 New church in Muqattam in the Centre of Saint Simeon the Tanner
p. 41 Work with handicapped children in Salam Centre
p. 41 In the girls' orphanage near Salam Centre
p. 41 Some buildings of the Centre of Saint Barsum's Monastery in Ma'asara
p. 42 Saint Menas' School in Qusiya and pupils (2 pictures)

Mission and Diaspora

p. 44 Bishop Antonios Markos
p. 44 Saint Mark's Coptic Centre in Nairobi, Kenya
p. 44 Coptic church in a village near Nairobi (1986)
p. 44 Saint Mark's Cathedral and Centre in Johannesburg, South Africa
p. 46 Saint Mark's Church in Ondogawa, Namibia
p. 46 Zulu Coptic Orthodox faithful in Nongoma, South Africa
p. 47 Vocational training centre in Nongoma, South Africa
p. 47 Monks and novice in the Coptic Monastery of Saints Antony and Moses the Black, Sudan
p. 48 Saint Antony's Monastery and Saint Mark's Church in Harare, Zimbabwe
p. 49 Saint Mark's Cultural Centre and Church in Scarborough, Toronto
p. 49 Father Marcos A. Marcos
p. 50 Saint Mark's Coptic Orthodox Church, New Jersey City
p. 50 Saint Mary's Church, Seattle
p. 52 Archpriest Mikhail Edward Mikhail and his son Deacon Bishoy Mikhail, Cleveland
p. 52 Faithful of the Church of Saint Mary and Saint Mark in Mexico, with Archpriest Father Mikhail Edward Mikhail of Cleveland and Father Agapius Anba Pola
p. 53 Saint Mark's Church in Sao Paolo, Brazil
p. 54 Coptic Centre in Stevenage near London
p. 54 Monastery of Saint Antony in Waldsholms-Kröffelbach
p. 55 Coptic church in Châtenay-Malabry near Paris
p. 56 Coptic church and centre in Meyrin near Geneva, Switzerland
p. 59 Cathedral of Saint Mark, Sydney
p. 60 Monastery of Saint Antony, Heathcote, Victoria
p. 61 The first regular lecture at the Theological College (1982), Australia

Sunday Schools and Youth Movement

p. 64 Father Antonios Amin and his wife
p. 65 Saint Mark Church in Giza
p. 65 Father Salib Surial (d. 1994)
p. 66 Mr Yonan Nakhla
p. 66 Mr Victor Nakhla and his sons

p. 67 Church of the Virgin in Faggala, Cairo
p. 68 Edward Benjamin (1914-1966)
p. 68 Orphanage, 70 al-Farag Street, Shubra
p. 68 Dr Adel Shoukri and friends of the orphanage
p. 69 Father Marcos Dawoud
p. 69 Sunday School in Villejuif, Paris
p. 70 Father Tadros Malaty, Church of Saint George Sporting, Alexandria
p. 70 Bookstore in the Church of Saint George Sporting, Alexandria
p. 70 Bishop Moussa
p. 72 Youth centre by the sea at al-Agami

Languages, Literature and Studies

p. 77 Centre for the restauration of manuscripts in the Monastery of Saint Menas, near Alexandria (2 pictures)
p. 78 Coptic manuscript, with Coptic and Arabic
p. 88 Coptic School in al-Barsha near Mallawi
p. 88 Société d'Archéologie Copte, Cairo
p. 88 Mr Mirit Ghali
p. 91 Dr Noss'hi Abd al-Shahid Butrus, Joseph Faltas, and other researchers in the Patristic Center in Cairo (PCC)
p. 92 Saint Theodore by the painter Ibrahim, (18th cent.)
p. 93 Icon of the Virgin and Child by Astasi al-Roumi, (19th cent.), Church at Sakha, Delta
p. 93 Icon of Saint Mark painted by a Greek Orthodox, Stephanos Therianos, (14th cent.), Church of al-Muallaqa, Old Cairo
p. 93 Icon of the Nativity by Isaac Fanous
p. 93 Coptic Museum and Roman fortress, Old Cairo

Liturgical Life

p. 94 Archaeological site of Saint Menas
p. 94 Christian ruins in Saqqara
p. 94 Church of Saint Antony, Monastery of Saint Antony
p. 95 New Cathedral in Aswan
p. 95 Church of the Virgin in Nasr City, Cairo
p. 96 Wooden box in which is put the chalice during the Eucharist (2 pictures)
p. 97 Sunk small basin in the Church of the Virgin, Monastery of the Syrians
p. 97 Ancient baptistery
p. 98 Preparation of the Eucharistic bread (*qurban*)
p. 98 Design of Eucharistic bread stamped with twelve squares
p. 98 The priest smelling the wine
p. 99 The priest choosing a Eucharistic bread
p. 99 Prayer of Absolution by Pope Shenouda III, Geneva 2004
p. 101 Bishop Serapion giving communion

p. 104 Metal triangle and cymbals
p. 106 Prayers of Kiyahk
p. 106 Bishop Raphael celebrating, at Epiphany, the prayer of the blessing of the waters (*laqan*) (2 pictures)
p. 107 Father Moussa al-Anba Bishoi in Paris during the Prayer of the Unction of the Sick (*kandil*)
p. 107 Preparation for Palm Sunday procession, Paris
p. 108 Palm leaves woven into crosses
p. 109 Holy Friday, 'the burial', in the Coptic Monastery near Saint Fargeau, France
p. 114 Baptism
p. 114 Marriage
p. 115 Mourning women in Beni Suef

Spirituality

p. 117 Saint Antony and Saint Paul the Theban
p. 117 Saint Bishoi
p. 118 Saint Macarius the Great
p. 118 Saint Moses the Black
p. 118 Saint Onuphrius or Nofr
p. 119 Saint Mary the Egyptian
p. 119 Saint Iskhiron of Qallin
p. 119 Saint Mercurius, (Abu Saifain)
p. 119 Saint George of Cappadocia
p. 120 Saint Damiana and the Forty Virgins, icon painted by the nuns of the Monastery of Saint Damiana
p. 120 Saint Anub, known as Aba Nub
p. 120 Saint Menas
p. 121 Bishop Ammonius and the martyrs of Esna
p. 121 Bishop Abraham of Fayyum (1829-1914)
p. 122 Father Yasa Mikh'ail (1877-1962)
p. 122 Father Bishoi Kamel (1931-1979)
p. 122 Father Yustus (1910-1976)
p. 122 Father Andarawus (d. 1988)
p. 122 Catholic procession of the relics of Saint Maurice on his feast day, in Saint Maurice, Switzerland
p. 123 Saints Felix, Regula and Exuperantius, Zurich
p. 123 Icon and relics
p. 124 Relics of the Three Martyrs in Esna
p. 124 Relics of Saint Sidhum Bishai (1804-1844) in Damietta
p. 124 Prayers in front of the relics of Saint Moses the Black, Monastery of Baramus
p. 125 Chains of Saint George in Old Cairo (2 pictures)
p. 125 Stone with the footprint of the Child Jesus in the Church of the Virgin in Sakha

p. 125 Veneration of icons: in the Coptic church in Birmingham; and in the Church of the Virgin at al-Azbakiya, Cairo (miraculous icon)
p. 126 A priest censing an icon
p. 126 Miraculous icon in the Church of the Virgin at Ibiyar, Delta
p. 126 Faithful put slips of paper with their demands, here near the relics of Saint Menas in the Monastery of Saint Menas
p. 126 Faithful praying near the tomb of Pope Kyrillos in the Monastery of Saint Menas
p. 126 Young pilgrims in the Monastery of the Syrians
p. 127 Procession and tents during the pilgrimage in the Monastery of Saint George near Luxor
p. 128 Relics of Saint George at Mit Damsis, Delta
p. 129 Icon of the Flight to Egypt painted by a nun of the Convent of Saint Damiana
p. 129 The tree called 'of the Virgin' at Matariya, Cairo
p. 130 The Church of the Virgin in Ma'adi, Cairo (2 pictures)
p. 130 Cave in the Church of the Virgin at Musturud
p. 130 Church of the Virgin at Gabal al-Tayr, also called the Convent of the Pulley
p. 131 Festival in Dair Abu Hinnis, near Mallawi (3 pictures):
Sailing boats, one with the picture of the Holy Family;
Procession; Bishop Demetrius praying
p. 132 Church of the Virgin in Zaytun, Cairo
p. 133 Tatooed cross on a hand
p. 134 Fasting food

Monastic Life

p. 136 Father Mina's cave near the Monastery of Baramus
p. 136 Father Mina's mill near Old Cairo
p. 137 Pope Shenouda III in front of the cave where he lived
p. 137 Abd al Masih al-Habashi
p. 137 Father Angelus, the hegumen of the Monastery of Saint Pachomius in Luxor
p. 139 Entrance of Saint Antony's cave near the Monastery of Saint Antony
p. 141 Columns of an ancient church, Faw Qibli
p. 145 Father Angelus, former spiritual father and confessor of several convents in Cairo in the 1980s
p. 148-149 Monastery al-Baramus (3 pictures)
p. 149 Cell of Saint Bishoi, Monastery of the Syrians
p. 151 Father Victor, Monastery of the Syrians
p. 151 Monastery of Saint Macarius
p. 151 Monastery of Saint Macarius, ancient dining room
p. 152 Monastery of Saint Menas
p. 153 Convent of Saint Damiana
p. 154 Convent of Saint George, Old Cairo
p. 154 Convent of Saint Mercurius, Old Cairo

p. 155 Convent of Saint Theodore Stratelates, Harat al-Rum
p. 156 Monastery of the Archangel Saint Gabriel in Naqlun, Fayyum, ancient cells in the mountain
p. 156 Father Abd al-Masih al-Fayyumi, Monastery of the Archangel Saint Gabriel, Fayyum, and his cave (2 pictures)
p. 157 Monastery of Saint Antony and way up to the cave (3 pictures)
p. 158 Father Maximus al-Antoni
p. 158 Monastery of Saint Paul (3 pictures)
p. 159 Monastery of Saint Samuel, ancient church
p. 160-161 Monastery of al-Muharraq (2 pictures)
p. 161 Dair Durunka (3 pictures)
p. 162 Monastery of the Virgin/Dair al-Ganadla and a monk (2 pictures)
p. 162 White Monastery (2 pictures)
p. 163 Red Monastery
p. 163 Monastery of the Martyrs/Dair al-Shuhada, Akhmim
p. 163 The Nile near Akhmim's monasteries
p. 164 Monastery of Saint Thomas, Akhmim
p. 164 Convent of Saint Bidaba, Nag Hammadi
p. 164 Mother Sarah, Convent of Saint Bidaba, Nag Hammadi
p. 164 Monastery of Saint George, Naqada
p. 165 Dair al-Malak Mikha'il, Naqada, new buildings
p. 165 Monastery of Saint George, Naqada
p. 165 Monastery of Saint Victor, Naqada
p. 165 Monastery of Saint Pachomius, Luxor
p. 166 Monastery of Saints Bishay and Bissentawos/Pisentius, Luxor
p. 166 Convent of Saint Theodore, Luxor
p. 166 Cells in the Convent of Saint Theodore, Luxor
p. 167 Monastery of Matthew the Potter/Dair al-Fakhuri, Isna
p. 167 Monastery of the Martyrs/Dair al-Shuhada, Isna
p. 167 Monastery of Saint Pachomius, Idfu
p. 167 Monk Maximus (d. 1988), Monastery of Saint Pachomius, Idfu
p. 168 Monastery of Saint Simeon, Aswan
p. 168 View of the Nile from the Monastery of Saint Simeon, Aswan
p. 169 Father Raphael al-Anba Mina
p. 171 Young girls showing their tatooed crosses

Some Addresses, Emails and Websites

For getting a Coptic diary with Coptic directory with addresses, emails and websites around the world contact:

COPT, P.O. Box 631 Kogarah NSW 1485, Sydney, Australia, fax 0061 2 95538333; email: sam@copt.org.au; www.copt.org.au

Saint Antony Monastery. California, Mailing Centre: P.O. Box 250, Barstow, CA 92312-0100; phone 001 760 2573457; fax 760 2574104

Some of the main Coptic Orthodox addresses, emails and websites are the following:

Egypt

- Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, 222 Ramses Street, Abbasiya, Cairo; email: coptpope@tecmina.com; www.copticpope.org
- Bishopric of Public, Ecumenical and Social Services (BLESS), P.O. Box 9035, Nasr City, Cairo 11381; phone 00202 4882237, 6822215; fax 00202 6825983
- Bishopric of Youth, P.O. Box 136, Abbasiya, 11381 Cairo; emails: youthbishopric@youthbishopric.com; mosa@hotmail.com; www.youthbishopric.com

United States

- Archdiocese of North America: Bishop David www.nacopticarchdiocese.org BLESS USA: www.blessusa.org
- Diocese of Los Angeles: Bishop Serapion, P.O. Box 4960, Diamond Bar, CA 91765; email: bpserapion@lacopts.org; www.lacopts.org
- Diocese of the Southern United States: Bishop Youssef, P.O. Box 1005, Colleyville, TX 76034, www.suscopts.org
- Office of Ecumenical Affairs in Cleveland, Ohio email: bishoy@ecucopt.org; websites: www.ecucopt.org; www.stmarkcoccleveland.org, www.theotokos.org

Europe

• Great Britain

- Bishop Angelos, Shephalbury Manor, Broadhall Way, Stevenage, Herts SG2 8RH; emails: CopticOrthodoxChurch@CopticCentre.com, Angaelos@CopticCentre.com
- websites: www.CopticCentre.com=Stevenage Centre; www.uk-christian.net/boc=British Coptic community; www.bishopantony.org =Bishop Antony

• **Germany**
- Bishop Damian, Probsteistrasse 1a, 37671 Hoexter-Brenkhausen, email: bischof@koptisches-kloster-hoexter.de; www.kopten.de

• **Sweden :** www.koptisk.com

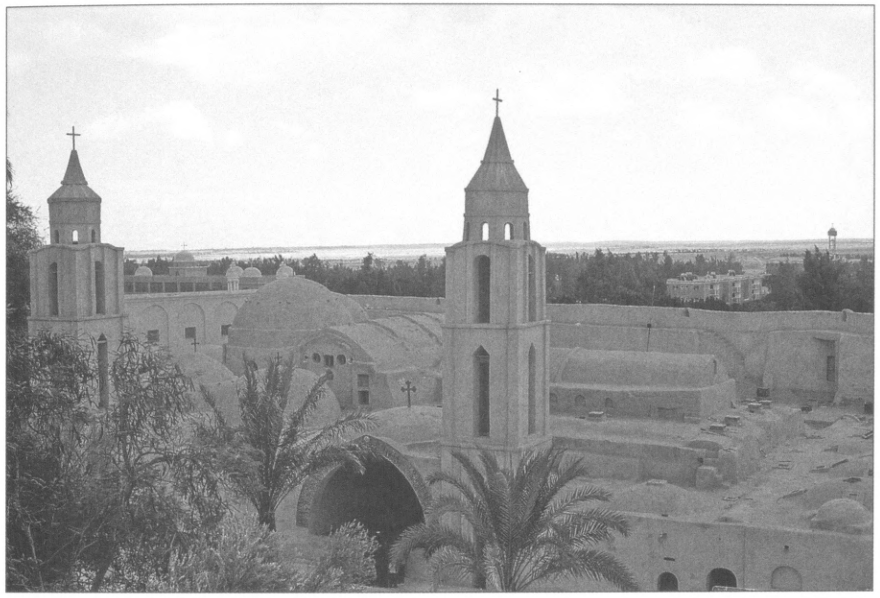
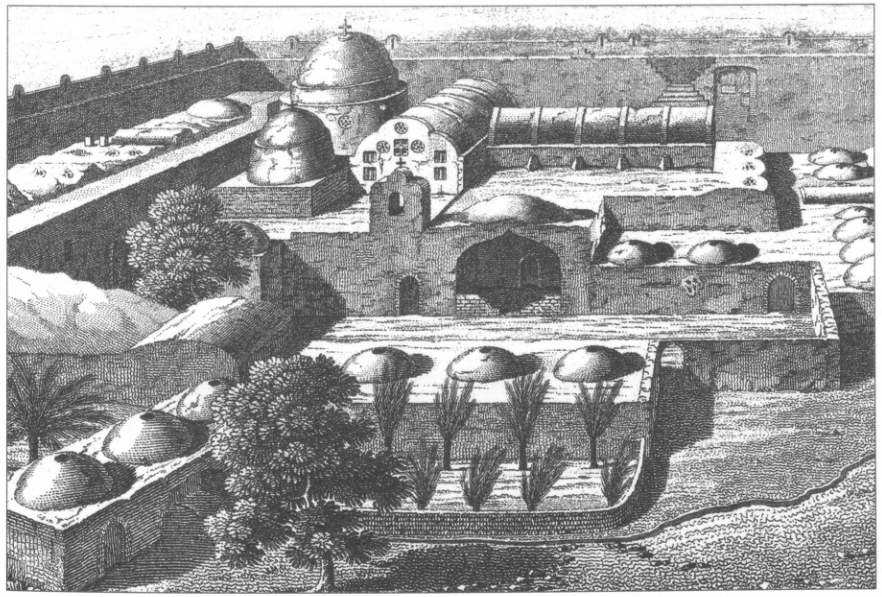
• **Netherlands :** www.koptischekerk.nl

Middle East
- Metropolitan Abraham, P.O. Box 14006, Old City, 91141 Jerusalem, Israel; phone 00972 26272645, 0097226284405; fax 00972 26272773

Africa
- Bishop Antonios Markos, Bishopric of African Affairs, P.O. Box 72191, Parkview, Johannesburg 2122, South Africa; email: copticafrica@icon.co.za
- Bishop Paul, Ngong Road, P.O. Box 21570, Nairobi. Kenya, email: bishoppaul@hotmail.com

Australia
- Bishop Suriel, Diocese of Melbourne, P.O. Box 302, Oakleigh, VIC 3166; phone 0061 398745362; email: Bishop@MelbCopts.org.au; website: www.melbcopts.org
- Bishop Daniel, Diocese of Sydney, phone 0061 291508422; email: bishop.Daniel@coptic.org.au; website: www.coptic.org.au

Languages and Literature
- *Saint Shenouda the Archimandrite Coptic Society*, email: Coptica@stshenouda.com; www.stshenouda.com
- *Saint Mark Foundation*: in Cairo: 222 Ramses Street, 11381 Abbasseya, Cairo, phone 00202 6857377, 4882496, 0101105025; stmarkfoundation@hotmail.com; www.stmarkfoundation
- *The Patristic Centre in Cairo* (*PCC*), 8B Ismail al-Falaki, Makhqana Square, phone and fax 00202 2414023; email santonio@link.net
- *The Coptic Heritage Lovers Society*, contact Sami Mitri phone 00202 2639828 fax 202 2625486; email gafa@link.net
- *The Coptic Week Conference* in Cairo, contact Dr Ramez Boutros office phone 00202 7971652; or the Church of the Virgin in Rod al-Farag in Shobra, 5 al-Kalki Street, Rod al-Farag, phone 00202 4595599
- *The Friends of the Arabic Christian Heritage*, contact Father Wadie Aboullif, 12 Bindaka Street, al-Muski, Cairo, 00202 5909906; ccos3@ccos-cairo.org
- *Centre of Documentation and Research on Arab Christianity* (*CEDRAC*), Beirut, Lebanon: email cedrac@usj.edu.lb; website: http://www.cedrac.usj.edu.lb
- Publications by the American University in Cairo: www.aucpress.com

There are other Coptic websites such as www.coptic.net/EncyclopediaCoptica, www.coptic.org, www.coptichymns.net, etc. See also links.

Note that emails and website adresses may change.